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MYTH AND RITUAL IN HINDUISM

BY

T. M. P. MAHADEVAN

Myth and ritual are indispensable, not only to primitive faith, but also to organized religion. The two are co-ordinate because we note that there is an intimate connection between the myths of a people and their ritual acts. It is difficult to say whether the word is primary or the deed, for we see them function together in the life of the individual and in the affairs of society, departmentalization of the human mind and behaviour being impossible. Just as thought and language are closely related, so are these two to action. And, what binds myth and ritual together is that they both belong to the sphere of the sacred. If myth is not mere tale or legend but sacred tale, ritual is not mere action but sacred action.

As between the two — myth and ritual — it is hard to say which leads to which. Usually, the anthropologists assert that "the *myth* comes into play when rite, ceremony, or a social or moral rule demands justification, warrant of antiquity, reality, and sanctity", and that the knowledge of myths "supplies man with the motive for ritual and moral actions, as well as with indications as to how to perform them".[1] But there are other ways in which a myth may be evolved, though subsequently it may come to be associated with a ritual. Myths may be woven, for instance, to explain in symbolic language some abstract idea or difficult conception. There is no use contending, as does Malinowski, that the primitive peoples, like the Melanesians, would not endorse the view that the myths have a symbolic purpose. Even if it be true that savage myth has little of symbolism in it, the myth of culture is a veiled version of some deeper-lying truth. As an instance to show that myths may be evolved for purposes other than that of justifying ritual, I may cite the following from the Vedic literature of the Hindus: In what has been called the 'Whoish' hymn of the *Ṛg-veda* there is the refrain, 'To god *ka* shall we offer our oblation'.[2] The word *ka* literally means 'who'; and so, the passage should mean 'To which

1. B. Malinowski, *Myth in Primitive Psychology* (Kegan Paul, 1926), Pp. 36-39.

2. x, 121. kasmai devāya haviṣā vidhema.

god shall we offer our oblation ?' But Sāyaṇa, the commentator on the Veda, interprets *ka* to mean Prajāpati, and understands the hymn as one addressed to that god. The Orientalists have accused Sāyaṇa of ignorance of the meaning of the word. But they overlook the fact that the commentator is only faithful to the myth about *ka* that is to be found in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. The story is this : Once Indra approached Prajāpati and said, 'Give me your greatness'. Prajāpati replied, '*Who* shall I be without greatness ?', whereupon Indra observed, 'Since you said "Who (ka) shall I be ?", you shall be "who" (ka)'. This myth is not only not one whose purpose is to explain a ritual, but is also highly symbolic. The expression 'who' as applied to the highest Reality bears a philosophical meaning. It implies that the Reality is devoid of characteristics, and that it is undetermined, though not indeterminate.

Several are the theories as to the origin of myth. Of these, the two important ones are the theory of nature-mythology and the theory which regards myths as true historical records of the past. Max Müller, who may be taken as a representative of those who favour the nature-myth method, conceives of mythology as 'a disease of language'. His view is that the names of so-called gods were originally names of natural phenomena, and that when the original signification of these names was lost myths or tales of the gods came to be attached to those names. Thus myths are anthropomorphized musings upon the manifestations and functions of nature. According to the other theory, whose first formulation in the West is attributed to Euhmerus (4th century B.C.), all myth is of historical origin and mythology is transmuted history. While these theories have some elements of value, they are not convincing because they miss the essential purport of myth. It is true that certain myths may have evolved out of the mind's tendency to personify nature. It is also true that some sacred tales may have their source in distant historical events. But the purpose of myth is neither to rationalize nature-worship nor to chronicle the racial past. Myth-making is essentially for the sake of conveying in concrete language— often veiled and highly symbolic — some abstract idea or truth.

Let us examine Max Müller's view with special reference to the Vedic gods. Applying the nature-myth method of investigation, the gods of the Veda are determined to be personifications of natural phenomena. Dyaus is Father Sky, Pṛthivī is Mother-Earth ; Sūrya is the Sun, Agni is Fire ; and so on. Though the gods of the Greek Pantheon were also evolved from nature, the process of personifica-

tion was so complete there that vestiges of their natural origin could hardly be discerned ; whereas in the case of the Vedic gods the personification became arrested, and even the most personified of the deities, such as Indra and Varuṇa, give away their naturalistic affiliations. The descriptions of Agni, for instance, clearly indicate that this god is the personification of the sacrificial fire. Agni is described as butter-backed, flame-haired, and as having a tawny beard, sharp jaws, and golden teeth. Mention is frequently made of his tongue with which the gods eat their oblation. And, he is said to face all directions with a burning head.

We do not for a moment deny that parallels in nature could be found for many of the Vedic gods. But the naturalistic reference, we contend, is not the only or the most important aspect of the meaning of the doctrine of gods. According to Yāska, the hymns of the Veda carry a tripple meaning, a sacrificial or ritualistic meaning (adhiyajña), a meaning relating to the gods (adhidaiva), and a spiritual meaning (adhyātma). These three aspects are to be found often mentioned in the Vedas and the Upaniṣads themselves. Of these three, the last is the most significant and important. From the standpoint of spiritual life, the gods are so many psychological powers and functions that help man acquire Self-knowledge. To quote the words of Sri Aurobindo : "When the seer speaks of Agni as 'the luminous guardian of the Truth shining out in his own home', or of Mitra and Varuṇa or other gods as 'in touch with the Truth and making the Truth grow' or as 'born in the Truth', these are words of a mystic poet, who is thinking of that inner Truth behind things of which the early sages were the seekers. He is not thinking of the Nature-Power presiding over the outer element of fire or of the fire of the ceremonial sacrifice".[3] Even as regards the first and second of the three meanings mentioned above, the Vedic gods do not stand primarily for natural phenomena. In the case of a god like Dyaus, for example, "it is not in the first place the sky that is worshipped but principally the All-Father, the begetter, together with Pṛthivī, the Earth-Mother, of the visible universe, and comprehending all created things within himself".[4] Thus the serious defect of the nature-myth method is, as Durkheim observes, that it makes of religion a meaningless metaphor by reducing it to a system of anthropomorphized musings upon the activities and manifestations of nature.

3. *Hymns to the Mystic Fire* (Śrī Aurobindo Āshram, Pondicherry, 1946), p. xvii.

4. G. J. Held, *The Mahābhārata, An Ethnological Study* (Kegan Paul, 1935), p. 100.

Let us turn for a while to the other theory which converts myth into a chronicle of past events. This view of myth is not unknown to India. The orthodox tradition about *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas* is that they are records of actual events that happened long long ago. The five topics of a *Purāṇa,* as given in the *Amarakośa,* are primary creation, secondary creation, genealogy of gods and Prajāpatis, periods of the different Manus, and histories of royal dynasties. The teller of the *Purāṇa* story begins his theme usually with the words, 'Once upon a time it happened'. But still it is not right to look for historical facts in every statement made in the Epics and the *Purāṇas.* One has to go to them not for factual but poetic truth.

That the object of the sacred story is not to teach history is shown by Śaṅkara in a context dealing with the creation-texts in his commentary on the *Māṇḍūkya-kārikā.* He cites there the Upaniṣad tale about the demons' piercing speech, etc., with evil, as an example of a figurative statement. This episode is related in two Upaniṣads, the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and the *Chāndogya,* with some variations. According to the account given in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka,* there was rivalry between the *devas* and the *asuras,* the two sets of descendants of Prajāpati. The gods who were fewer in number than the demons sought to overcome their rivals by means of the *udgītha* chant. They first asked speech (vāk) to sing the *udgītha* for them. Speech sang, but in doing so it was not free from selfishness. Hence it easily fell a prey to the demons who pierced it with evil. The result was that the gods were foiled in their attempt to excel their rivals. The nose was the next to be asked to sing. The same thing happened with regard to it also. The eye, the ear, and the mind were then tried in sequence; all of them were pierced with evil by the demons. At last came the turn of the breath in the mouth (āsanya prāṇa). 'Do thou sing for us', said the gods. 'Yes', replied the breath, and sang. The demons rushed at it and wanted to pierce it with evil. But as a clod of earth, striking against a rock, will be shattered, so were the demons shattered, flung in all directions. Hence the devas rose and the asuras fell. In the *Chāndogya* the same story appears, with some changes, the important of them being that here the sense-organs (or rather their deities) are meditated upon as the *udgītha* by the gods, and not asked to sing the chant. The point which Śaṅkara urges with reference to this story is that it should not be literally understood. It is not a narrative of what actually happened. If it were, the difference between the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and the *Chāndogya* versions of the story is unintelligible. Moreover, when the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* says that speech sang, the nose sang, and so on, the statements

cannot be literally true. The story is an allegory intended to teach that *Prāṇa* (breath) is to be meditated on because it is pure (unsmitten by evil), while speech, etc., which are impure are not fit objects of mediation.

So we come back to our thesis that myths in the Hindu tradition — at any rate, most of them — have a transcendental use. One of the recurrent themes of the Vedic, Upaniṣadic, and Epic myths is the struggle between Good and Evil and the ultimate triumph of Good. Two stories are frequently told in the *Ṛg-veda*: One is the story of Vṛtra obstructing the flow of water and Indra killing him and letting the waters flow ; the other is the story of Bala hiding the cows behind the mountain and Bṛhaspati recovering them. A naturalistic meaning has been sought to be read into these stories. Indra releasing the waters and Bṛhaspati the cows are said to represent the phenomena of cloud-bursts and rains. But the esoteric sense intended by the Vedic ṛṣis is the spiritual experience of the destruction of ignorance and the onset of wisdom. It is the rain of Heaven that Indra releases by slaying Vṛtra ; and it is the cows of light that Bṛhaspati recovers from the mountain. The Dasyus whom the Vedic poet seeks to destroy with the help of the gods are not any tribe of dark-skinned men ; they are 'the powers of darkness, adversaries of the seekers of Light and the Truth'.[5] The struggle between Light and Darkness is generally represented as a war between the gods and the demons, as in the Upaniṣad story already sketched, and sometimes as a strife between two human clans or even two sets of cousins, as in the *Mahābhārata*. It is in connection with the struggle between Good and Evil that the doctrine of *Avatāra* (divine descent) is taught, according to which God incarnates himself from time to time in order to put down Evil and help Good to win.

The philosophical myths of Hinduism do not stop with picturing to us the rivalry between the forces of darkness and the powers of light and the eventual victory of the latter. Some of them go a step further and dwell on the need to go beyond even the so-called good, and for the regeneration thereof. One such myth is to be found in the *Kena Upaniṣd.* Brahman, the Absolute, so runs this myth, obtained a victory for the gods over the demons. But being intoxicated by success, the gods thought that by their own prowess they had won over their rivals. Brahman wanted to teach the gods a lesson. It appeared before them as a *yakṣa* ; and they did not know who it was. Two of the leading gods, Agni and Vāyu, were in suc-

5. Śrī Aurobindo, *op. cit.*, p. xxiv.

cession set on the mission of identifying the yakṣa. But they miserably failed; they could not even burn or move a blade of grass which the Spirit had thrown at them. Then Indra, the chief of the gods, sallied forth to uncover the mystery. But lo! the great Spirit disappeared at the approach of Indra. In that same quarter of the heavens, Indra beheld a woman, Umā the daughter of the Himalayas, exquisitely beautiful and of golden hue, who told him that it was Brahman that had appeared in order to show the gods their limitations. This is an interesting story from which many a philosophical lesson has been drawn by the commentators. One important truth, however, emerges from the myth, viz., that the ultimate Reality which is also the supreme value is beyond even the gods, being their ground and goal.

The mystics and absolutists of all ages have resorted to myth in order to convey through symbol and suggestion some idea of the transcendent Reality which by its very nature is beyond the reach of word and thought. It is true that philosophers like Śaṅkara and Bradley employ a rigorous prose and the language of logical reason in order to clear the way, through the method of dialectics, for the apprehension of Reality. They, however, do not claim to teach the nature of Reality through the ordinary methods of determination and proof. What cannot be taught through the usual meanings of words is taught through implication. Myth, in Hindu philosophical and religious lore, is a device adopted by the seer to transmit to others his experience of the Truth.

Let us now consider briefly the place and significance of rituals in Hinduism. There are all sorts of rituals, ranging from domestic rites to community feasts, and from Vedic sacrifices to temple- and other forms of popular worship. What is common to all these is that they represent in visible form, dramatize so to say, some supernormal and supersensuous truth. The sacrifice is the external form of the inner relation between the gods and men. The *Bhagavadgītā* puts the origin of sacrifice in the form of a myth. Prajāpati ordained sacrifice when he created sentient beings, and told the latter that they should regard sacrifice as the means through which they could have their desire fulfilled. 'Foster by this the gods', he said, 'and let the gods foster you; fostering each other, you shall attain to the supreme good. Fostered by sacrifice the gods shall grant you the enjoyments you desire; he is a thief, who enjoys the pleasures given by them without giving to them in return'.[6] The philosophical implication of this myth is that even for gaining

6. *Gītā*, ii, 10-12.

selfish ends one must practise a little of selflessness. And, it is through the spirit of sacrifice that one grows in spirit.

It is not unusual to regard the Vedic sacrifice as representing a system of barter as between the gods and men. In the *Brāhmaṇas* the modes and results of rituals are more or less arithmetically worked out. The school of Mīmāṁsā later on stressed the *act* of sacrifice to such an extent that even the gods were made mere annexes to sacrifices. In several of the hymns, it is true, the ends that are sought after are material goods such as the wealth of cattle and a profusion of progeny. But not unoften do the words like 'horses' and 'cows' occurring in the hymns carry a double meaning, one outer and obvious and the other inner and symbolic. The Vedic poet offers the inner sacrifice to the gods in order that he may acquire the horses of spiritual power and the cows of the heavenly light.

The symbolic nature of the ritual is stressed in some of the Upaniṣad texts where sacrifices are allegorized. In the opening sections of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka,* for instance, the horse sacrifice is interpreted allegorically. Overlordship of the earth may be gained by sacrificing a horse in the prescribed manner. But spiritual autonomy is to be achieved by renouncing the whole universe which the Upaniṣad conceives of in the image of a horse. In the *Chāndogya,* the life of man is symbolically explained as a Soma sacrifice, and oblations to the different manifestations of breath (prāṇa) take the place of Agnihotra. It is a recognized view in the Upaniṣads that meditation on the significance of a sacrifice yields the same result as the actual performance thereof. In later Hinduism, where worship of God in the shape of idols largely replaces Vedic sacrifice, it is admitted that mental obeisance (mānasa-pūjā) is higher than outer ceremonial worship. Thus it is clear that ritual in the sense of a ceremonial act is an aid only at the initial stages in inward life. As one progresses in spirituality, the need for dependence on external props diminishes. Injunctions and prohibitions lose their value in the case of the saint and the sage who have realized the absolute Spirit which transcends deeds as well as ideas.

FEDERAL GRANTS-IN-AID WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO INDIA

BY

R. N. PODUVAL

The 'Federal Dilemma'

The maladjustment between governmental functions and sources of revenue has become a marked feature of all federations. The functions allotted to the units or the states, like education, public health, old age pensions (in Australia, invalid and old age pensions are placed under the Commonwealth), poor relief, relief of unemployment (now a federal function in Canada), maternity and child welfare, etc., have grown in relative importance, but the resources at their disposal have proved inadequate, especially with the federal government encroaching more and more into the sphere of direct taxation. Moreover, the states in a federation are diverse in fiscal strength. In some states the per capita income is lower than in others due to lack of natural resources and (or) their imperfect development. Consequently, the tax revenue that they can raise is small and the 'bundle of services' that they can provide is at best limited. States like Western Australia, South Australia and Tasmania in the Australian Federation; the prairie Provinces of Canada; South Dakota, Oklahoma and South Carolina in the United States are instances in point. Owing to their poverty of resources they are unable even in normal times to provide services considered to be the absolute minimum. The richer states, on the other hand, are more favourably placed. In the first place, their citizens being richer, they can provide many of the services privately for themselves instead of depending on the government. Secondly, their taxable capacity being greater, these states can provide services quantitatively larger and qualitatively better. This disparity in the level of services provided or maintained by the units in a federation is said to sap the very roots of the common nationality which federation fosters. Moreover, the poor states are forced either to seek federal aid more and more which may compromise their fiscal independence, or allow their services to stagnate or decline with consequent lowering

of the standard of life of their inhabitants. Here is the federal dilemma.

Device of Grants-in-aid

(a) *Obligatory Grants.* The disequilibrium between revenue resources and functions has been sought to be adjusted by the device of grants-in-aid. There is provision in most federations for obligatory grants by the federal government to the states. In Canada, in return for the Provinces surrendering the power to levy customs and excise duties, the constitution provided for specific annual subsidy to the Provinces to meet the expenses of government as well as an annual subsidy at the rate of 80 cents per head of the population. The Australian constitution provided that three-quarters of customs and excise collections should be paid to the States as grants from the Commonwealth for a period of ten years. At the end of ten years the states still found themselves in need of grants and hence in 1910 a new system of grants of 25s per capita was substituted, which lasted until 1927. In India, the Government of India (Distribution of Revenues) Order, 1936, provided for grants-in-aid of the revenues of United Provinces (Rs. 25 lakhs for five years) Assam (Rs. 30 lakhs each year), North-West Frontier Province (Rs. 100 lakhs each year), Orissa (Rs. 47 lakhs in the first year, Rs. 43 lakhs in each of the succeeding four years, and Rs. 40 lakhs in every subsequent year) and Sind (Rs. 100 lakhs in the first year and Rs. 105 lakhs in each of the succeeding nine years). These grants were meant to put these Provinces on an 'even keel' with the introduction of Provincial Autonomy.

The new Constitution of India has also provided for certain obligatory grants. Thus by Article 273, in lieu of the assignment of any share of the net proceeds of the export duty on jute and jute products, grants-in-aid of the revenues of the States of Assam, Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal are to be given. These shall be paid so long as any export duty on jute or jute products continues to be levied by the Government of India or until the expiration of ten years from the commencement of the Constitution, whichever is earlier. It is also laid down in Article 275 that grants-in-aid shall be paid for the purpose of promoting the welfare of Scheduled Tribes in a state or for raising the level of administration of the Scheduled Areas in that state to that of the administration of the rest of the areas of that state. Further, grants-in-aid of the revenues of Assam shall be paid equivalent to (1) the average

excess of expenditure over the revenues during the two years immediately preceeding the commencement of the Constitution in respect of the administration of (specified) tribal areas, and (2) the costs of such schemes of development as may be undertaken by that State, with the approval of the Government of India, for raising the level of administration of the said areas to that of the rest of the areas of the State. The Finance Commission, which is to be set up under Article 290 of the Constitution, is to lay down the principles which should govern the allocation of grants-in-aid of the revenues of the States.

The obligatory grants provided for in most of the federations are meant for a transitional period. They are at best stop-gap arrangements in the early stages of a federation and are not intended to be permanent. They have arisen out of the necessity to reimburse the units for the surrender of certain sources of revenue to the federal government and were meant to last till such time as the units could develop independent sources of revenue.

(b) *Special or Specific Grants.* Apart from obligatory grants, the federal government, in all federations, has power to make special grants at its discretion. In recent years such special grants have been increasing in importance with federal governments taking the initiative in order to force state action especially in the field of social services. The outstanding example of such initiative is that taken by the Federal Government in the United States under President Roosevelt since 1933. Grants were offered for old age assistance, public health and care of the blind, unemployment insurance, slum clearance and rehousing, crippled and dependent children in order to encourage the States to provide these services. In Canada, the Dominion Government undertook in 1930 to provide 75 per cent of the funds needed for a scheme of old age pensions, the provinces administering the services. In Australia, the Commonwealth Government was contributing by grants in 1936-37 about one-third of the States' expenditure on social services. Thus 'welfare politics', it has been remarked, is making federal governments to take the initiative and almost to force grants upon the regional governments.[1]

An idea of the development of grants-in-aid can be had from the fact that whereas in 1930 the Federal Government in the

1. K. C. Wheare: Federal Government, p. 121.

United States gave grants only for eleven separate objects, in 1940 this had increased to twenty-one and of these social services comprised 53 per cent of the total. Federal aid to States for social security and other purposes increased from \$573·1 million in 1939 to \$757·9 million in 1946.[2]

The Central government in all federations is in a position to aid the regional governments because its taxing powers range over the whole country. But though it has superior taxing power, it is not the best authority to administer certain services like education or public health which are best administered by State governments. Hence "financial power at the Centre must emergize experience at the periphery."[3] The Federal government can do so since it can take more from the prosperous areas and give it to the poor areas. Thus federal grants-in-aid involve inter-area transfer of income. The richer areas are exploited for the benefit of the poor.

Basis of Grants-in-aid

Population of each state has been regarded as a proper basis for the assignment of grants. But population by itself is not a sufficient criterion. A rich state may have a larger population than a poor state and consequently is entitled to a larger amount of grants on a population basis. The whole purpose of grants-in-aid may thus be distorted.

The Australian Grants Commission set up in 1933, have adopted as basis for special grants the 'fiscal need' of a state government. The Third Report of the Commission says: "The Commission is convinced that special grants are justified when a State through financial stress from any cause is unable efficiently to discharge its functions as a member of the federation, and should be determined by the amount of help found ncessary to make it possible for a State by reasonable effort to function at a standard not appreciably below that of other States." The Commission have taken as 'normal' the standards of expenditure and taxation of the three State governments, Victoria, Queensland and New South Wales which did not ask for special grants. A detailed comparison of the expenditure of the claimant States with this normal is made;

2. Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1948, p. 244.

3. Wood, G. L.: The Future of Federal Aid (Economic Record, Dec. 1945), p. 200.

the scale of social expenditure, costs of administration are analysed and the revenues of the claimant States are related to the 'normal' by careful comparison of the 'severity of taxation' (including local taxation) and of the scales of charges levied by State enterprises. The index of severity of taxation is calculated by the Commission as follows: first an index of taxable capacity for each State is obtained by using Federal income-tax returns, supplemented by information about wages so as to take into account small incomes which are exempt from federal tax; next, an index of tax collections per head for each State, adjusted to take account of local taxation is prepared; finally, the index of collections is divided by the index of capacity and the result is referred to as an index of comparative severity of taxation. The Commission thus discovered how each of the claimant States stood in relation to the 'normal' in expenditure and taxation. But the Commission did not conclude that special grants should be given equal to the deficiency. A claimant State must make an additional effort through curtailment of expenditure and severity of taxation so that it might have an incentive to improve its position by its own efforts. The Commission considered that a claimant State should practice economy about equal to 6 per cent of the normal standard for social services and in addition there should be some special effort expressed in terms of severity of taxation amounting to 10 per cent of the normal severity of taxation. If a State had a low severity of taxation, its grant is to be reduced accordingly. Similarly, there are to be deductions on account of an extravagant scale of social services or administration costs. A state guilty of extravagance in financial administration is expected to impose taxation above the average severity. A State requiring assistance has to make a determined attempt to solve its financial troubles by reducing expenditure and increasing revenue. Thus special grants in Australia vary according to the 'fiscal needs' of the claimant States as determined by the Grants Commission.

The Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations in Canada recommended 'national adjustment grants' to Provinces to enable them "to provide normal Canadian services with no more than normal Canadian taxation." The Commission has attempted to compute, Province by Province, what the cost would be if the Province and municipalities taken together were to provide services on the Canadian standard (which is taken to be the average standard of services for the whole country). Adjustments have been made for the cost of developmental services appropriate to the Province and for the weight of taxation in the Pro-

vince. The National Adjustment Grants represent the amount, if any, which each individual Province should receive from the Dominion to enable it to provide services according to the "normal Canadian standard" with no more than normal severity of taxation. Thus here again, it is the fiscal need of a Province in relation to a 'standard' which is taken as the norm for the payment of grants.

The climate of opinion therefore seems to be that the basis of grants-in-aid should be the fiscal need of the State governments. This is to be computed by taking into account the 'normal' standards of expenditure and the taxable ability of the States. Grants are meant to bridge the gap between the two.

Conditional versus Unconditional Grants

In Australia and Canada, the system of unconditional grants prevails by which grants are given without any 'strings' attached. It is a system of bloc grants which can be spent by the State governments as they prefer. United States, on the other hand, has developed the system of conditional grants by which the grant is given subject to participation usually on a 50-50 basis by the recipient government in specific expenditures and subject to federal supervision. Conditional grants have been the means to stimulate state action in matters in which there is a national interest. Thus grants have been given for vocational education, for highways, for old age assistance on a conditional basis. Usually the Federal Government have insisted on "matching dollar for dollar." The aim of the Federal Government has been to bring state performance of welfare functions to a minimum level by the offer of a federal dollar for every new State dollar spent on these functions.

The conditional grant is said to impair state sovereignty; it tends to put the State governments under the 'financial tutelage' of the Federal Government. Moveover, the stigma of Federal charity or patronage is supposed to accompany them. Since the needs of the States are different, it has been maintained that they should be left free to make use of the grant according to their own judgement. As against this, it has been said that unless conditions are imposed, the principle of financial responsibility is infringed, since the revenue is raised from citizens of one area and spent by citizens in another. The conditional grant, as in U.S.A., is given for a specific function and it carries with it federal supervision of

state performance. It puts a premium upon state performance of certain activities and thus has helped in stimulating state action in spheres of activity in which there is a national interest. But there has been a tendency towards a haphazard system of grants and not a unified system.

Equalising Grants

In the United States in recent years interest has been forcussed on the 'variable ratio' or equalizing grant by which "the federal government agrees to overmatch the dollars of the poor States and to undermatch those of the rich States".[4] It has been increasingly felt that there should be a national minimum service standard in such cases as education, health, public welfare. Grants, it has been pointed out, should be distributed to the States on the basis of relative need and relative financial resources. Those with the greatest need and least resources should receive the largest per capita grants and those with the least need and greatest financial capacity should receive the smallest per capita grants. Thus each governmental unit may be able to provide the minimum programme without great strain on its resources. A beginning has been made with regard to public health grants in which case a wide discretion has been given to the federal officers in allocating the grants and they have used it for purposes of equalization.

Specific Grants in India

In India specific grants are given by the Central Government for development schemes, for Grow More Food and for educational schemes. In 1945 the Provinces were informed that they could draw up their schemes of post-war development on the assumption that in the five years beginning with 1947-48 they could expect assistance by way of grants of Rs. 250 crores which would be distributed on a population basis. After Partition, adjustment had to be made for the Provinces in Pakistan and for the division of the Punjab and Bengal. In 1948 following a review by the Centre of development schemes, the Provinces were informed that development grants from the Centre would be contingent upon the Provinces spending from their own resources at least equivalent sums. Thus the grants became conditional. In the case of West Bengal and the Punjab, which were severely affected by the Partition, and

4. Maxwell, James A.: The Fiscal Impact of Federalism in the United States, p. 394.

Orissa and Assam, which are comparatively less developed, it was agreed that the entire expenditure on approved schemes would be reimbursed by the centre subject to stated maxima. The grants for Grow More Food schemes were limited to 50 per cent of the expenditure incurred and in the case of Assam and Orissa to 66⅔ per cent. In 1949-50, in view of the inflationary pressure in the economy, grants to Provinces were severely cut. Total grants for 1949-50 are estimated at Rs. 24·12 crores, of which Rs. 23·42 crores will be for general development purposes and Rs. 70 lakhs for adult social education and teacher's training. In the budget for 1950-51 grants to States have been still further reduced. Thus provision is made in the capital budget for Rs. 9·59 crores for grants to States, of which Rs. 9·2 crores are on account of Grow More Food schemes and the balance for educational schemes.

Following federal financial integration of continuing Indian States and States' Unions, the Central Government have agreed to make good the 'revenue gap' arising from the Central assumption of federal sources of revenue and expenditure, by grants-in-aid. Thus in the budget for 1950-51 provision has been made for grants-in-aid from the Centre to Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore-Cochin and Saurashtra. Hyderabad is to receive Rs. 76 lakhs, Mysore Rs. 325 lakhs, Travancore-Cochin Rs. 280 lakhs and Saruraṡhtra Rs. 250 lakhs by way of grants-in-aid. From 1950-51 the Part B States are also entitled to development and other grants-in-aid from the Centre in the same way as Part A States.

Basis for Distribution of Grants in India

As in other federations, so in India, the States are in unequal stages of development and their fiscal capacity therefore is unequal. The fiscal needs of backward States like Orissa and Assam are greater than in the case of other States. Again, Partition has affected the financial position of States like East Punjab and West Bengal. The Finance Commission which is to be set up under Article 280 of the Constitution will have to evolve a formula for the distribution of grants based on 'fiscal need'. The Expert Committee on the Financial Provisions of the Union Constitution considered the question whether, as in Australia, grants should be made to equalise or at any rate to reduce the disparity between the level of services and the severity of taxation in the different Provinces. The following table shows the taxation per head in each of the Part A and Part B States and the per capita expenditure on social services in each of Part A and Part B States for the year 1950-51 (budget estimates).

TABLE I

State		Population[1] (in millions)	Total tax[2] revenue (in million Rs.)	Tax Revenue per capita	Total[3] Expenditure on Social Services (in million Rs.)	Per capita expenditure on social service
			Part A States			
Madras	..	54·29	419·0	7·7	190·0	3·5
Bombay	..	32·68	441·7	13·5	218·6	6·7
West Bengal	..	24·32	275·2	11·3	106·9	4·4
Uttar Pradesh	..	61·62	381·8	6·2	169·9	2·8
East Punjab	..	12·61	95·8	7·6	38·9	3·1
Bihar	..	39·42	189·4	4·8	77·8	2·0
Madhya Pradesh	..	20·92	149·8	7·1	50·2	2·4
Assam	..	8·51	60·0	7·1	28·2	3·3
Orissa	..	14·41	67·8	4·7	36·7	2·5
			Part B States			
Hyderabad	..	17·69	193·0	10·9	24·7	4·8
Mysore	..	8·06	59·2	7·4	64·2	8·0
Travancore-Cochin	..	8·58	82·5	9·6	53·0	6·2
Saurashtra	..	3·96	36·0	9·1	26·4	6·7
Rajasthan	..	14·69	121·0	8·3	46·0	3·1
Madhya Bharat	..	7·87	76·5	9·7	35·7	4·5
Patiala and East Punjab States Union	..	3·32	34·9	10·5	13·0	3·9

1. Population is the estimated population.
2. Includes the share of income-tax from the Centre.
3. Social Services includes Scientific Departments, Education, Medical, Public Health, Agriculture, Rural Development, Veterinary, Co-operation, Industries and Civil Aviation.

Source: Report on Currency and Finance, 1949-50 — Reserve Bank of India.

It will be seen from the above that there are wide differences as between the States in the level of taxation per head and in the level of expenditure per head on social services. The difference between the highest and the lowest so far as taxation per head is concerned (represented by Bombay and Orissa) is of the order of 65 per cent and that with regard to the expenditure on social services (represented by Bombay and Bihar) is of the order of 70 per cent. In Australia it has been pointed out that the difference between the levels is of the order of 20 per cent. The following

table shows the disparities between the States in Australia on the basis of 1943-44 state expenditure on social services.[5]

TABLE II

Social Services — Net State Expenditure, 1943-44

State		Expenditure on Education per head		Expenditure on Health per head	
		s.	d.	s.	d.
New South Wales	..	41	11	29	6
Victoria	..	35	7	19	6
Queensland	..	35	1	27	11
South Australia	..	39	8	21	10
West Australia	..	39	8	23	10
Tasmania	..	42	5	26	0

"There is undoubtedly", says the Report of the Expert Committee on the Financial Provisions of the Union Constitution (page 11), "something attractive in seeking to bring up the backward units at least to 'average' standards both in effort (severity of taxation) and in performance (standards of service)." But in view of the wide differences in the levels as between the States in India and in view of the fact that the number of States in India is much larger than in Australia, the Expert Committee is constrained to remark that "in such a background 'averages' would be mere mathematical concepts totally unrelated to actual facts".[6] But all the same, it is necessary to help the weaker States to raise the level of their services and to develop their economic resources and the Union Centre may well insist on a national minimum of social services. Thus in distributing grants under Article 275 of the Constitution, the Centre should take into account the varying economic circumstances of the different States.

Significance of Grants-in-aid

Since federal grants amount to a transfer of income collected in the rich States to the citizens of poor States, it has been likened to the subsidisation of an inefficient firm. But this criticism overlooks the fact that some States if left to themselves cannot provide

5. Future of Federal Aid by G. L. Wood: The Economic Record, Dec. 1945, p. 203.

6. Report, p. 11.

certain services at a minimum national level and hence the federal government may have to redistribute revenue among the States so that the deficiency of resources in some States may not prevent provision of a minimum level of services. Again, it has been pointed out that federal grants prevent the maximisation of national production since they hinder inter-State labour mobility by counteracting the incentive to mobility, namely, real wage differences.[7] This criticism too cannot be sustained, since the object of federal grants-in-aid is not so much to establish uniformity of standards throughout the country as to establish a national minimum standard. Diversity of standards is bound to exist in a federation due to regional heterogeneity.

Federal grants serve to bridge the gap between State needs and financial resources. But for this device a poor state will be forced to abandon or starve some services or allow the federal government to exercise the function though the State is better able to perform it. Federal grants relieve the pressure on the budgets of financially weaker States and help them promote economic expansion in their areas. Thus fiscal inequality as between States is not allowed to stand in the way of furthering national interests, the federal grants-in-aid helping to solve the problem of functions without resources.

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TIRUMALAIDEVA MAHARAYA *

BY

T. V. MAHALINGAM

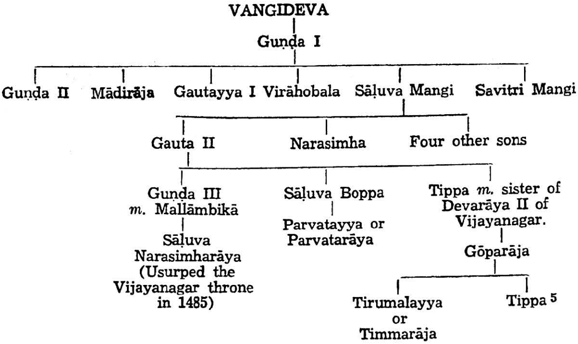
The establishment and growth and later the maintenance of vast empires in India as elsewhere in mediaeval times have depended very largely on the loyal co-operation of a number of chieftains in them. Some of them were members of the ruling family itself, while others were official nobles in the empire who rose to power and influence by virtue of their ability and loyalty to the government. In the displacement of ruling houses, and the establishment of new ones the feudal chieftains played a considerable part in mediaeval South India and hence it was once observed by a scholar that " Indian History is mainly the story of feudatory families rising into power when the time was opportune."[1] In the history of the Vijayanagar empire for instance the Śangama dynasty which was responsible for its foundation was abruptly brought to an end in 1485 by the Sāḷuva chieftain and general Narasimha. Further the feudatory chieftains have played a large part in the history of local regions.

During the days of Mallikārjuna and Virūpākṣa, the last two members of the Śangama dynasty, the family of Śāḷuva Narasimha like that of Godwin in pre-Norman England rose to great political and dynastic influence. The early members of the family had played a considerable part in the expansion of the Vijayanagar empire over the Tamil country. The earliest known chieftain of the family was one Vangideva. His son Guṇḍa is said to have ruled from Kalyāṇi and captured Rāmadurga, the stronghold of a Śabara chieftain.[2] According to the *Rāmābhyudaya* he had six sons of whom Sāḷuva Mangi was the most distinguished.[3] He was a contemporary of Kumāra Kampaṇa and greatly assisted him in the conquest of the Śambuvarāya kingdom and the Madura country, the latter of which was then in the hands of Muslims. He was the father of six sons, one of whom Gauta II appears to have had three

* A paper submitted to the twelfth session of the Indian History Congress, (1949).

1. *Archaeological Survey Report,* 1907-08, p. 235.
2. S. K. Iyengar : *Sources of Vijayanagar History,* p. 32.
3. 52 of 1905 ; *Report,* para 44.

sons, of whom Guṇḍa III and Tippa or Tipparāja deserve mentions. Tippa Rāja who was a brother-in-law of the Vijayanagar king Devarāya II by his marriage with the king's sister, was the father of Gopa.[4] One of Gopa's sons was Gopa Timma or Tirumalaideva Mahārāya about whom this paper deals. Guṇḍa III's son was Sāḷuva Narasimha who rose to be a powerful vassal under Mallikārjuna Rāya and Virūpākṣa Rāya of the Śangama dynasty of Vijayanagar and usurped the throne in 1485. The following genealogical table will help us to understand the relationship between the different members of the family.



Tirumalaidevamahārāya is represented by about a dozen inscriptions in the Tiruccirappaḷḷi, Tañjāvūr and South Arcot districts ranging in date roughly between A.D. 1442 and 1475. They may be listed as follows :—

4. EC. XI, Cd. 29.

5. See V. Rangachary, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency,* II, Nellore, 606 and 620.

Butterworth and Venugopal Chetty, *Nellore Inscriptions,* III, 1184 and 1203.

EI. VIII, p. 76; ASR. 1908-9, p. 168.

T. V. Mahalingam: *Administration and Social Life Under Vijayanagar,* p. 416.

Reference	Date	King	Details
388 of 1911 Sattravada (Cg.)	Dundubhi Ś. 1364 A.D. 1442	Sāḷuva Tippadeva Mahārāja, son of Sāḷuva Tippayadeva Mahārāja.	Records a charter granted to the Senitans by Daḷavāy Śrīranga Rāvuttar.
238 of 1916 Śrīmuṣṇam (S.A.)	Viśvāvasu Parābhava Āṉi 20 (17-6-1447)	Immaḍi Tirumalai deva Mahārāya	Records that Nāgaiah Nāyaka one of the servants of the king assigned for the merit of the latter the taxes due from the village of Neḍuñjēri situated in the district given to him for military service for worship and repairs to the temple of Tirumuṭṭamuḍaiyāṉ Nāyaṉār.
264 of 1927	Ś. 1372 Prajāpati Karkaṭaka Śu. Pauṟṇimā, Tuesday, Tiruvōṇam, Lunar eclipse (11-11-1451)	Vīrapratāpa Devarāya.	Registers a gift by M. M. Tirumalayyadeva Mahārāya of the village of Eḷḷūr in Tirunariyūrpaṟṟu for the expenses of the worship, offerings, etc., to the God Tiruccattivanapperumāḷ at Tiruccattimuṟṟam.
448 of 1922 Pāpanāśam (Tj.)	Ś. 1370 (wrong) Prajāpati (exp.) Āngīrasa, Ṛṣabha, Śu, 12, Sunday, Hasta, Vaikāśi, 4 (May 1452)	Mallikārjunadēva Mahārāya.	Registers the gift of Rājakēśaripaṟṟu *alias* Pāpanāśam with all the taxes levied on the village for offerings, worship twilight lamps, etc., and for conducting the festivals instituted in the temple of Pāpanāśapperumāḷ by Sāḷuva Tirumalaidēva Mahārāya on the occasion of the reconsecration of the temple. The chief bears a number of *biruḍas* such as *gaṇḍaragūli,* Śambhuvarāya, etc.
S.I.I. VIII. 67 of 1903; No. 342, Jambukēśvaram (TP)	Ś. 1375—Śrīmukha Makara Apara Pakṣa 13, Friday, Mūlam, Sat. (26-1-1454)	Sāḷuva Tirumalai Rāja, son of Gōparāja.	Gift of a *padakkam* by the ruler to Nācciyār Akhilāṇḍeśvari Nāyakiār.

SII. II. No. 23, Tanjavur	Ś. 1377 (exp.) Yuva Citrai 17 (A.D. 1455)	M. M. Tirumalaidēva.	Remission by the ruler of taxes like *Pradhāni Jōḍi, Karaṇikka Jōḍi, Talaiyārikkam mavaḍai, maravaḍai,* etc.
452 of 1922 Pāpanāśam (Tj.)	Ś. 1379 Īśvara, Makara, ba, Amāvāsya ardha udaya, Sunday, Śravaṇa Tai 19 (Jan. 1457)	Vīra Prauḍadeva Rāya Mahārāja, son of Vīra Pratāpadeva Rāya who instituted the elephant hunt.	Gift of the village of Vāsudēvanallur bordering on Rājakeśarippaṟṟu in Nittavinoda-vaḷanāḍu in Tiruccirapalli Uśāvadi on the south bank of the river Kāvērī in the Cōḷa country to the temple of Pāpanāśam Perumāḷ for worship, offerings and repairs by Sāḷuva Tirumalaideva Mahārāya.
55 of 1897 SII. VII. No. 4 Tirukkattuppalli (Tj.)	Ś. 1382. Vikrama Mārgaḷi 17, Sunday, 14-12-1460	M. M. Tirumalaidēva Mahārāya.	Gift of taxes to the *sthānattār* of the Tirukkāṭṭupalli temple for worship and repairs.
378 of 1906 Kuḍumiyāmalai (Pd.)	Vikrama—A.D. 1460-1	Tirumalaidēva Mahārāya.	Inaccessible in the middle on account of the temple door.
249 of 1904	Ś. 1385. Subhānu A. D. 1463-64	Tirumalaidēva Mahārāya Uḍaiyār, son of Gunḍarāja Uḍaiyār.	Gift for the merit of Narasingarāja Uḍaiyār.
59 of 1892 SII. IV. No. 506 Śrīrangam (TP)	Ś. 1385. Subhānu, Makara Amāvāsya Uttirāḍa-Sunday (8-1-1464)	Sāḷuva Tirumalaidēva Mahārāya (Gopa Timma)	The ruler with various titles made a gift of income to the Śrīrangam temple.
535 of 1922 Tirukkaṇṇapuram (Tj.)	Ś. 1397. Manmatha Kārttigai. 16 (Nov. 1475)	Tirumalaidēva Mahārāya.	Remission of certain taxes accruing from Kallaṇainaḍus belonging to the temple for the repairs of the temple including the *gōpura* and for conducting worship and offerings in the temple. Mentions a certain officer called Vikramādittar.

From the above list may be seen the fact that though he owed some nominal allegiance to the ruling house at Vijayanagar, Tirumalaidēvamahārāya appears to have been in the enjoyment of a considerable measure of autonomy within his area.

As one ruling over the Tiruchirapalli area he naturally took interest in the temples at Śrīrangam and Jambukēśvaram. The *Kōyilolugu*[6] which contains an account of the temple at Śrīrangam gives some interesting details about Tirumalairāya's services to the temple. According to the work one Kuḻittaṇḍal Kamparāja came to Tiruchirapalli apparently as an agent of the Vijayanagar king bearing the *rāyamudra*. Tirumalairāya thought that his jurisdiction was being interfered with and therefore insisted on the territories being left to his own control. But since that did not happen conflict between the two arose, as a result of which in Ś. 1381, Pramāthin, Puraṭṭāśi (September 1459) all the residents of the northern and southern banks of the river including the members of the *sabhā* and the *nāḍu* deserted their villages and lived for 12 years in the thousand pillared maṇṭapa and other places. At the end of the period however in Ś. 1383 Kara, (A.D. 1471) the region passed under the jurisdiction of Tirumalairāya, peace was restored and the cultivators returned to their respective villages. Immediately, thereafter Tirumalairāja reconstructed the north *gopura* and gateway of the *Ālinādan* enclosure and made a passage by piercing the *Ālinādan* wall. The new passage was intended to have a direct approach to the thousand pillared hall through what was called the *veḷiaḻagiyaṉ* or *maṇalveḷi*. From that time onwards the procession of the God from the sanctum to the thousand pillared *maṇṭapa* on the occasion of the *Tiruvāymoḻittirunāḷ* was taken through a new gateway. Tirumalairāya is also credited with the erection of a *maṇṭapa* called *Aḻagiyamaṇavāḷaṉ tiru-maṇṭapa* a dais of sandal wood adorned with three gilded copper pots and the fixing upon the dais a *capra* and a couch made of ivory for the enjoyment of the God.[7]

It appears that since the old seaport town of Kāvērippūmpaṭṭiṇam had declined in importance Tirumalairāya found a new city a little farther south which came to be called, Tirumalairājanpaṭṭiṇam after himself. It was an ideal locality situated between two rivers the Tirumalairājanār excavated by him to the north of the new town and the Puravuḍaiyāṉ in the south and girt by the ocean on the east. The new city consisted of three

6. *Koyilolugu*, p. 139.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 142.

parts, outer (*puranagar*), the middle (*iḍainagar*) and the central (*aganagar*). In the outer quarter of the new city stood the military training ground and residential quarters for the soldiers. In the middle portion of the city were the palace for the ruler and numerous temples. The site now called *Kōṭṭaimēḍu* (Palace mound) and *mannan tiruvāśal tiḍal* on the northern bank of the R. Puravuḍaiyāṉ appears to have been the place where the palace (*kovilagam*) existed. Probably Pōlagam, a small suburb lying on the north of the river was the *Puhaḻ-agam* or entrance to the fort, and the name of the present suburb is probably derived from that word *Villaḍimēṭṭuttiḍal* and *Ambuttiḍal* very near the village. Agarakondagai served as the military training ground. Vanjiyūr now marks the southern limit of the city and in that village stands the deserted temple of Viśvanātha facing the west; and the whole space is now covered by high mounds pointing to the fact that residential quarters must have stood in the area.

Sāḷuva Tirumalayyadēva was a patron of Tamil and he has been praised by his contemporary Tamil scholars. One of them, poet Kāḷamēgam went to his court to obtain the present of a pearl jacket, probably because the coast nearby abounded in pearls. The court poets headed by Adimadhurakavi subjected him to a severe test, which he successfully withstood. But he could not get the wished for present from the king and hence Kāḷamēgam is said to have cursed the destruction of the city immediately which bore fruit. Thereafter, the king appears to have constructed a new palace for himself at a short distance to the north. Among the other poets patronised by him were the poets Madusūryar and Iḷañjuryar called usually the Iraṭṭaiyar or the Twins.[8]

8. MER. 1925, pt. II. p. 31; Purnalingam Pillai: *History of Tamil Literature*, pp. 274-5.

THE DOUBLE SEX CHARACTER OF THE KHASI GREAT DEITY

BY

U. R. EHRENFELS

1. INTRODUCTION AND SCOPE

To the conception of *goddesses* among the *Khasi* in Central Assam attaches *special importance,* in view of the fact that this Austro-Asiatic speaking, agricultural group preserves a matrilineal form of organization as a fairly integrated social system to this day,[1] whilst similar society-patterns are disintegrating in south-western India; the classical homeland of the matrilineal order.[2]

That there are *goddesses* being worshipped, among the Khasi,[3] can as little be doubted, as that the ancestral *great-grandmother* (*Ka Ïawbei*) holds a key-position in the Khasi conception of family — and clan-tradition.[4] But whether the Khasi goddess is a *mother*-goddess or whether the ancestral family and clan-mother can be considered as a mother-*goddess*; — these are questions, which to discuss is part of the task before us. I have been enabled to study this question in the course of field researches in 1949/50, financed with a Grant-in-aid which was given by the *Viking Fund* Inc., New York and which I was permitted to utilize, with the permission of the University of Madras, to both of which due acknowledgement and gratitude are now expressed also at this place.

The *dual aspect,* as far as sexual differentiation goes, of the principal deity among the Khasi, will in this connection be also described and its nature compared with Khasi attitudes to masculinity and feminity as such. These attitudes are of some general theoretical value. They are illustrative of the mentality created by, and prevailing in, a matrilineal society. Women play a rôle, and hold a position, in this Khasi,—as in similar other matrilineal societies, which is considerably higher than that held by women of non-matrilineal groups in this country. The Khasi

1. Cantlie (1934), p. 11, *seq.*, Ehrenfels (1950/B), p. 9, *seq.*
2. Ehrenfels (1941), p. 58, *seq.*, Menon (1937).
3. Gurdon (1914), p. 105, *seq.*, Lyngdoh (1937).
4. Gurdon (1941), pp. (82), 151, 153, Nissor Singh (1906), Art.: *Ïawbei.*

matrilineal system, moreover, is less disintegrated than that of most other matrilineal groups in India.

These concepts of *changing* or *double sexual attributes*, associated with the *principal deity*, may suggest comparisons with the *ancestral couple*-concept. The double sex-aspects, which will thus come to be discussed as a typical feature of the principal Khasi deity, is suggestive of the *divine couple* concept in Hinduism generally and the prevailing South Indian forms of religion in particular. Special interest attaches to these affinities because there are various indications of cultural interrelation (inspite of linguistic, ethnic and other differences), between the matrilineal peoples of Assam and those of south-western India; indications to which I have drawn attention already elsewhere[5] and which therefore need not be repeated here.

2. The Great Deity — A God, or a Goddess ?

P. R. T. Gurdon begins the chapter *Religion* in his classical description of the Khasi[6] with the following words: "The Khasis have a vague belief in the God the Creator, *U Blei Nong-thaw,* although this deity, owing, no doubt, to the influence of the matriarchate, is frequently given the attribute of the feminine gender, *Cf. Ka'lei*[7] *Synshar*".[8]

It seemed to me at first somewhat incongruous that an outspokenly matrilineal people, such as the Khasi no doubt are, should conceive the principal deity in an almost completely male form. Yet that was what my observations seemed to indicate, in full congruence with Gurdon's above quoted statement. There are female spirits, *Ka Ksuid,* and lesser *Ka Blei Umm* and *Ka Khrei* of friendly and threatening character but they do not play the rôle of a great, principal deity, of a primaeval principal, or creator of first order, even if assuming the important position of clan-goddesses, or perhaps that of a personification of the in-group, as *e.g.* in the standing phrase:

> "*Ba Hukum Ka Blei Ka Longkur,*
> (According to the order of *the goddess* of the clan,)
> *Ka Blei* Ka *Longkha.*
> (*the goddess* of relationship").[9]

5. Ehrenfels (1941) p. 36, 161, 171 *seq.* (1949/A), Art No. 10 of Oct. 30, 1949.
6. Gurdon (1914), p. 105.
7. *i.e.* an abbreviation of the word *blei* (god).
8. *i.e.* administrator, or one who rules over, *v.* infra.
9. Elias (1938), p. 53.

The position of this goddess as a secondary, created, though not materially visible (or tangible) entity, is perhaps not so clear as it certainly is in the case of the numerous and frequently worshipped female silvan, — river — or land-protecting spirits, which to describe in detail, the room to the disposition of this analysis, does not permit. We have thus to confine ourselves to the observation that these "tutelary deities" are not identified with the Great Deity or the Creator Deity by the Khasi and, even if imagined to be of female gender and to be of non-material character, yet cannot be considered as a goddess in the narrower sense of the word, nor less as a Mother-goddess or *Magna Mater.*

That there is the conception of a primaeval creator deity, among Khasi, became quite clear to me from convictions, laid down in mythology,[10] numerous private conversations, and communications to this effect, and from standing phrases such as the following thanks-giving prayer:

U Blei Trai Kynrad Nongthaw Nongbuh
[(Oh) He God Lord Master who creates (and) who places]
Hajrong Hatbian Shi Hajar[11] *Nguh.*
[above (and) below: — one thousand thanks].

But the sex determination of this Great Deity appeared to me for a considerable period of my field researches as of male gender, such as it apparently did to Gurdon. The Christianized or Unitarian, among my Khasi informants and Khasi friends, supported this my, as I see it now, wrong conception. I had been under the impression that a male Creator Deity (*U Blei Nongthaw,* indicated in the above quoted thanks-giving exclamation by the first, second and fifth word) is counterbalanced by an overwhelmingly important, though human or at the utmost deified ancestress (*Ka Īawbei*), — not by a genuine female deity as such — until I came across an affirmative exclamatory sentence.

U Blei Ka Blei ki lahban tip ja kane
(He God — she God they (who) can know about this).

Here the idea of two distinct deities seemed to be indicated in the use of the plural form of the pronoun *ki* (they) which, however, may also be interpreted as the honorific plural for one subject. This becomes the more plausible, as the word combination:

10. Rafy (1920), esp., pp. 43, 100, 137.
11. *Hajar* — thousand is borrowed from Assamese, Bengali or directly from Hindusthani.

U Blei — Ka Blei (literally: He God — She God) alone, without any addition, is an expression which was explained as an emphatic exclamation, only used by persons faced with a climax in life, that is to say, with a situation which makes one turn to the essence of life; — not by any means to two individualized deities or personalities. As interpretation of this significant exclamation two aspects of the one deity have been defined by my Khasi informant: *U Blei Nongthaw* (He God creator) and *Ka Blei Synshar* (She God perpetuator). The word *Synshar* is also used in ordinary parlance, as *e.g.* in *U Nong Synshar* — an administrator, as against an *U Nong Bishar* — a judge.

The parallel use, among Khasi, of the word God (*Blei*), with the definite article of the masculine gender *U,* and that of the feminine gender *Ka,* in these exclamations and formulas roused my doubts in the formerly assumed exclusive masculinity of the Khasi Creator Deity. In pursuance of the study of agricultural ceremonials and of prayers to *Ka Mei Ramew* the "mother" protecting the soil, I came across a prayer which confirmed these doubts in the validity of a systematized discrimination between the (male) creator deity (*U Blei Nongthaw*) and the (female) administrative deity (*Ka Blei Synshar*). This prayer is here given in the Khasi original and in a translation, kindly composed for me, by Dr. H. Lyngdoh, the author of *Ka Niam Khasi.*[12]

It used to be uttered before agricultural operations during which the ground was cut, such as hoeing:

Nga nguh ngon nga dem Khrup ho ki kjat ksiar kjat rupa jong Phi, Pa Blei, Nongthaw Nongbuh, Mynta ngan ïeng ka puh ka dain ka trei ka ktah, kumba phi la Thaw la buh ïa nga U Symbai bynriew ban trei ban ktah, phin map phin Sngnisynei ïa ka lait ka let ka tam ka duna ka jong nga U Khunbynriew. Sngew sngap ko Mei Ramew hajrong, ko Mei Ramew ha tbian, mynta ba ngan ïeng ka puh ka dain halor jong phi. Phin map phin sngew. Synei maphi ïa ka lait ka let ka tam ka duna ka jong nga U Symbai bynriew. Ka Ri ka bah ka thum ka aibuin aithiang hi ka jong phi, ban biang manga U Symbai bynriew kumba la thaw la buh hok U Pa Blei, ba u la pynshet pynshong halor jong phi.

Dr. Lyngdoh's translation: "I bow, I kneel down to your golden and silver feet (Oh) Father God, Creator (*Nongthaw*) and planner (*Nongbuh*). Now I stand to hoe, to cut to work to touch (*ka trei ka ktah*). As thou hast created, planned me the seed (or:

12. Lyngdoh (1937).

"core") of mankind to work to touch. Thou wilst forgive and have mercy on the commissions and omissions of myself. Hear Oh Mother Ramew (*Mei Ramew*) above (*hajrong*), O Mother Ramew below (*Tbian* — *i.e.* on the earth, or ground),[13] now that I will stand to cut on thee (*halor jong phi*). You will have mercy on the omissions and commissions of myself, the seed (or: "core") of mankind. The care (*ka Ri*), the carrying (*ka bah*), the keeping on the lap (*ka thum*) (and) the suckling (*ka aibuin aithiang*) are thine alone. To complete me, the seed (or: "core") of mankind, as it was created (by) Father God, (*Pa Blei*) — that has been laid on your shoulders (is your responsibility)".

Though two divine forms are no doubt discernible in this prayer, the parallelism in addressing them, and the similarities of feeling towards them, are also strong.

Among the Pnar, in the Jaintia Hills, many original culture traits persist which are disappearing from the Khasi Hills, — especially in the surrounding of the provincial capital Shillong. There in the Jaintia Hills, I was given the following description of "the principal deity".

> *Ka Blei ka wa buh ka wa shna ka wa buh*
> (She God who creates who shapes who puts (the))
> *mynsen wa buh mynsngaid.*
> (spirit who gives the life essence).

It has there also been explained, to me, that the same formula can be addressed to the male deity (*U Blei*) "because we believe that they are two, male and female". Confirmation has there also been given, independently of the above quoted assertion, that the expression "*U Blei — Ka Blei* is used in very great anxiety", — as an appeal to the highest instance that can be approched for help.

The thus created impression of a double conception, among Khasi, of the masculinity, or feminity respectively, in the Great Deity, rather than of a belief in two entirely distinct persons, a male creator deity and a female administrator, — not to speak of the human ancestress; *ka Iabei* — appears to be evidenced by a report, well over half a century old now, which is preserved in the

13. The *Mei Ramew* may be interpreted as an instance of an Earth Goddess conception, among Khasi, though its juxtaposition with *Mei Ramew hajrong* (i.e. above) points rather into another direction. That the division: male sky-god and female earth-goddess does not apply to the Khasi goddess is also indicated by the masculinity of *U Blei Ryngkew*, a male Earth God whom I found as protector of village lands worshipped in the sacred groves and who "takes care of, and protects the country", Gurdon (1914), p. 171.

Diary of the Deputy Commissioner of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, then Major Peet[14] who described on p. 15 a long conversation which he had with the Lyngdoh of Mawphlang "about demons", on November 8th, 1885.

Major Peet seems to have aimed at convincing the Lyngdoh of his, the Major's own views, rather, than at understanding himself the ideas of the old priest, for he says: "though I do not for a minute suppose that I convinced him, I silenced him as regards the lesser gods my argument of course being that the same (*sc.* primaeval) cause produces the same effect all over the world thus proving at least *prima facie* that there is but one supreme power. He (*sc.* the Lyngdoh) acquiesced in a gentlemanly manner, but asked if I did not believe in a female God or Goddess — *Ka Blei* as well as in God *U Blei*". The report goes on to describe the conversations in which the Major's argument was that "if there was a pair the same (*sc.* ultimate) causes would produce different effects". This apparently roused the Lyngdoh who "said almost in the words of Hermes Aclepios that all things must necessarily be of two sexes," and added that in his opinion, "Khasis ought never to give up their belief in local gods, still he would do so, if ordered by Government, but he would never disbelieve in *Ka Blei* because he (*i.e.* the Lyngdoh) has lived long and seen that for procreation a female is necessary as well as a male".

From this, as also from our former analysis of the *U Blei* — *Ka Blei* conception of the Khasi, it would appear, that the *Magna Mater* or "Great Goddess" concept of the Khasi is fused with the Creator God idea into one indivisible, yet sexually differentiated unit. It would be perhaps as misleading to say that there is no Great Goddess, among the Khasi, as to state that she is an independent *Magna Mater*.

The full understanding of this position requires, I think, a somewhat deeper knowledge of Khasi attitudes to masculinity and feminity, as evidenced in every day life and linguistic application. These attitudes will, at the same time, illustrate the influence which the matrilineal order of society exercises on the psychological structure generally.

3. Masculinity and Feminity in Khasi Attitudes

The particular Khasi attitude in the sex determination of their Great Deity, will, I think, be better understood, if backed by some

14. File No. 14/D in the Dy. Commissioner's Office, Shillong, to which access has kindly been given to me in June 1950.

insight into the rôle which the sexes play in Khasi psychology. Though a discussion of this theme might well fill a voluminous book, without yet, being exhaustive, a few remarks on Khasi attitudes to masculinity and feminity, as such, and their place in every day Khasi parlance may help our analysis at this point.

It is hardly any more necessary, in this second half of the twentieth century, to dispel 19th century's theories about matrilineal societies, decrying them as "savage survivals" or "primitive stages" in human civilization, allegedly based on the assumed (but nowhere actually existing) ignorance of the biological significance of paternity, even though such antiquated theories of anthropological speculation continue to be reproduced, occasionally, by theorists of sister sciences who conveniently ignore the results of seventy years intensive anthropological field-research work and theory.

The father as such, and the male sex generally, play a well defined and very important rôle also in Khasi, — as in all other matrilineal societies.

An English educated Khasi described the Khasi family to me as a small republic in which the father looks after daily problems, the mother provides the centre and performs the important duty of preparing and placing the leaves for the family-offerings and sacrifices, whilst the maternal uncle takes care of special and legal problems. "These three make a nice *durbar*", added my informant. In this family-council the male element thus appears here *numerically stronger* than it is in the patriarchal family, but, by being represented through two individuals (father and maternal uncle), it is prevented from wielding dictatorial power, to which it frequently tends by temperament. A privileged position is allotted to the mother who, as a woman, is in many ways the weakest of the three authoritative personalities and yet holds a legally privileged key position in this "family — republic". This is an arrangement which tends to infuse respect for the tender qualities, rather, than for mere brutal power and strength. All members of the matrilineal nuclear republic are under this influence. I found this description borne out by detailed family studies which I conducted in the village Maw Syn Jri (Kharang), in 1950.

Another misleading extreme in the evaluation and description of matrilineal societies, of which even some *modern* anthropologists do not seem altogether free, is the trend to minimize and thus to underestimate the rôle which womanhood generally, and individual

women in particular, are playing in matrilineal societies, as long as the matrilineal organization continues to function at all.

Even a brief review of the relevant facts in Khasi sociology, law and religion would fill a ponderous volume. We will therefore contend ourselves here with two illustrative facts which throw some light on the complexities of Khasi attitudes to feminity and to individual women.

Though the priestly function of the *Lyngdoh* is carried out by a man, a number of ceremonial religious performances, especially in the family, are to be conducted by women. It is therefore a disgrace for a family if there is no female member. In such a case the man concerned would adopt a girl[15] who, in a way, would be made to be " on top of the adopting man " as an experienced elderly Pnar himself put it in conversations on this problem with me.

This eminently democratic procedure is paralleled by the following method of establishing new *Dkhar* clans.[16]

Dkhar is the Khasi word for plains people. A *Dkhar* (or abbreviated *'khar*) clan is one, the first ancestress of which was a girl from the plains, who has been captured and carried off, during the formerly not infrequent " raids made by the Khasi over the border into Assam and Sylhet ".[17] The Khasi neither were, nor are, in any superstitious, romantic or otherwise determined delusion about the physical or mental powers of women. The matrilineal Khasi used to capture, and carry off, girls in the plains just as other patriarchal hillmen used to do.

But whilst the captured girl's fate, among the latter, was that of a slave, or at best that of a married woman without any rights of her own, the more chivalrous and at the same time democratic attitude of the matrilineal Khasi put this same captured, helpless girl-prisoner, backed by nobody and without property of her own, yet into the important position of a clan-ancestress and named the clan, thus newly created, after her as a *Dkhar* — or plains-people clan. That this was by no means a single or isolated instance is shown by " the large number " of clans bearing " the name of *Dkhar* or its abbreviation : *'Khar* " as Gurdon points out. The

15. Cantlie (1934), pp. 15/16 sub. *Nong-rap-üng* and Gurdon (1914), pp. 85/86 sub. *Adoption*.

16. Gurdon (1914), p. 66.

17. *Ibid*.

powerful position of such a captured clan-ancestress from the plains must have been more than merely in name. I met for instance the member of a Khasi *Dkhar* clan who knew that his clan-ancestress, generations ago, had been a Muslim girl from the plains and who said that his clan-members observed a taboo on pork, until recently, when they were converted to Christianity or Unitarianism. It must also be noted that the members of *Dkhar* clans hold a position, in no way inferior, or less privileged, than any of the original "pure" Khasi clans, the ancestress (*Ka Jawbei*) of which were Khasi ladies themselves.

In the Khasi attitudes to women we find thus a combination or realism, as far as their physical strength is concerned, and of chivalrous respect, as far as the psychological importance of women goes. This same attitude is reflected in almost every social custom, arrangement or institution, from the smallest to the most important.

Men are the first to get up, early in the morning, in order to lighten the fire and put the gruel for breakfast on it, whilst women are allowed to sleep longer, though cooking is otherwise their task. Or: it is the youngest, and thus physically and psychologically weakest, among the daughters who will be "heir-apparent", or more correctly: the "custodian of the family property" in "her important position as the family priestess".[18] This ambivalence in attitudes to women is not without bearing on the Khasi concept of the Great Deity. It finds, however, special elucidation in a particular linguistic form of changing the meaning of a substantive noun, by prefixing it with either *U* — the definite article of masculine gender, or *Ka* the feminine definite article.

U Maw, for instance, is a rock in its natural state, whilst a hewn stone is described as *Ka Maw*. The great importance which hewn stones played in the megalithic ceremonial of the Khasi, will here be remembered.[19] *U Dieng* is a living tree, and *Ka Dieng* is timber. Though some of my Khasi informants thought that in these cases the article *U* (masculine) is indicative of strength and *Ka* (feminine) of passiveness, even weakness, there were others who felt that the feminine gender often signifies the superior part of pairs or comparable entities otherwise. The sun (*Ka Sngi*) for instance, is feminine whilst both moon (*U Bnai*) and star (*U Khlur*) are masculine. Heaven, again, is feminine (*Ka Bneng*), and so is the (borrowed) word for ocean in Khasi usage (*Ka*

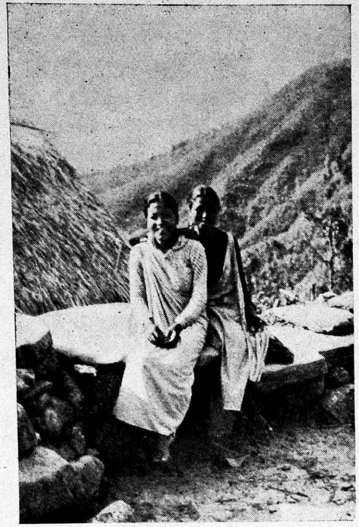
18. Cantlie (1934), p. 26, 27.
19. Comp. illustrations facing page 35.

Three Megaliths of an unusual type, adorned with ornaments in Hindu style. They are of recent origin, illustrating the importance of megalithic stone-masonry in Khasi culture

—Photo: *Ehrenfels.*

Khasi Megaliths of the ordinary type.

—Photo: *Ehrenfels.*



Two Khasi Girls resting on the old megalithic stone-seats, placed round the village square of *Mawlat*. Here, as in many other Khasi-villages, hewn stones of megalithic character form an integral part of architecture and are used in daily routine.
—Photo: *Ehrenfels.*

Khasi Women representing the typical, hard working cheerful average.
—Photo: *Ehrenfels.*

Duriaw), as also the so very important rubber tree (*Ka Jri*), which, according to mythology, joined once upon a time heaven with earth, or the majestic silk cotton tree (*Ka Kya*). It can, however, not be taken as proved that the sex, allotted to these last named nouns, has actually any significance in Khasi sex-evaluation as such.

However that may be, the principle of *slightly changing* the *meaning* of a noun, by prefixing it with the definite article of the other sex, is applied in ordinary Khasi parlance, just as in the highly emotional appellation *U Blei — Ka Blei.* In ordinary usage, the prefixing with the feminine article smacks frequently of slight mockery. *Briew* is the Khasi word for human being. In an angry mood a Pnar (Jaintia) can be heard referring to a *man,* by calling him "*ka bruh*" (*She*-human). Khasi look upon plains people with condescension, if not contempt, and consider them as weaklings. Speaking of a plains *man* in that temper, he is often being referred to as a *Ka Dkhar* ("*She*-plainsperson"), although explicitly a man, not a woman, is here signified. This may sound incongruous with the Khasi attitude to the *Ka khunn Khaddu,* the youngest daughter and "heir-apparent", who gives sanction to all family ceremonies, by going to the altar, bowing down and presenting the offerings.

The remarks on plains women, or the wives and daughters of Bengali Brahmin officers in the provincial Government offices at Shillong, which I heard from my Khasi informants, showed me, however, that a certain amount of physical and mental strength is considered characteristic of, and desirable in, Khasi women[20] whilst it is held to be absent in the women from the plains, particularly from Bengal, who are considered as too delicate and weak. These circumstances may therefore account for the derogatory meaning of *Ka,* especially if applied to plains*men.*

Concluding this excursion into the psychology of Khasi attitudes to masculinity and feminity, as expressed in social behaviour patterns and linguistic usage, we will find that the addition of the masculine and feminine pronouns *U* and *Ka* to the same word *blei* (god) in the highly emotional appelative exclamation, described at the beginning of this discussion, is no doubt more than a merely formalistic play with words.

20. Comp. illustrations facing page 35.

4. South Asian Parallels

Whilst engaged in field researches among Khasi and Pnar (Jaintias), discussing their conception of the Great Deity, I was more than once reminded of the creation myth of the Kadar in south-western India, the central figure of which is a divine couple *Malavay* and *Malakuratti*,[21] the creators, or ancestors, of mankind.

The culture-historic position of the South Indian Kadar and the Assamese Khasi is poles apart. The Kadar do *not* belong to the matrilineal groups of people in Southwest India. They are, on the other hand, a primitive bilaterally organized hill-tribe; true food-gatherers, quite ignorant of food production through agricultural operations, or of any social organization, beyond the small family, — or local-group. The Khasi and Pnar (Jaintia), on the other hand, are people of a specialized civilization with a typically evolved matrilineal social organization, based on elaborate agricultural economy, village life and all that goes with it, including a tradition of centuries in complex methods of house-building, of iron smelting, and iron-working, or of clan, and state-government under matrilineal ruling dynasties. It would indeed be surprising if any deeper inter-connection could be traced, between the Great Deity concepts among these two people of so widely differing cultural background.

There are, in fact, also essential differences between the divine couple of the Kadar and the Khasi Great Deity, inspite of some common features in sex-qualifications. The Kadar divine couple is connected with a double-pronged mountain and a primaeval flood-myth; two features, both of which are absent in the Khasi *U Blei — Ka Blei* concept. These two features are frequent among South Asian and particularly Austro-Asiatic speaking people, as has been shown in the late Professor L. Walk's systematization of the available mythological material.[22]

The Khasi *are* Austro-Asiatic speaking, whilst the Kadar are not, — at least not now. The Kadar of to-day, on the other hand, speak a somewhat unusual form of Tamil. But during my field researches, among them, I came to feel that there are certain indications for their having spoken at one time a now forgotten non-Dravidian, possibly Austro-Asiatic language. Their simple food-gathering economic, and their bilateral social-system as well as

21. Ehrenfels (1950/A), pp. 167, *seq.*
22. Walk (1949), pp. 63, *seq.* 114.

their bamboo combs and ornaments, their methods of tree-climbing in pursuance of honey, and in fact the above mentioned flood-myth itself; — all point to possible Kadan affinities with the Negritoes of Malaya,[23] who, on their part, are geographically near the distributional centre of the flood and brother-sister myth. There is, however, one significant difference. Malavay-Malakuratty of the Kadar are not conceived as a brother-sister couple. They are also not seeking refuge from the flood, rather brought up, on the surface of the earth, by it, whilst the typical brother-sister ancestors in most flood-myths are believed to have sought refuge in a floating vessel, frequently a pumpkin, to escape the flood. Such a couple is said to have done so, in another South Indian flood-myth-version, which I found in the Perya Malayali area (Shevarayan Hills of Salem Dt.) — though not as their own, but as an outsider's ancestral tale.[24]

The Kadan couple, however, is *not* conceived as a pair of siblings, but as a divine couple. The possibility of this element in the Kadan creation-myth having some connection with the ultimate origin of the *Siva-Shakti* complex in Hindu mythology, inspite of the worlds of culture-historic differences between the truly primitive religion of the former and the highly specialist nature and history of the latter, has been hinted at, by me, elsewhere.[25]

This same possibility seems now suggested, and with more force, regarding the *U Blei — Ka Blei* concept of the Khasi. Their religious concept is *not* connected with a flood-myth and contains not even the slightest hint at a sibling-relationship between the two deities,— if of *two deities* we can at all speak here. We have seen that the Khasi language and Khasi usage lend themselves easily to expressing, but at the same time also slightly changing, a basic idea by adding the pronoun especially of feminine gender, to a noun, generally used in the masculine form. This is the actual way in which the same Great Deity is being sometimes described, or addressed, in the male and sometimes in the female aspect.

The artistic representation, in Hindu religious sculpture, of Ardhanareshvara and Umamaheshvara could almost be taken as

23. Ehrenfels (1950/A), p. 176.

24. This tale, which I have so far not yet published, contains the characteristic feature of the floating pumpkin, carrying the two refugees over the waters.

25. Ehrenfels (1949/B), p. 23.

an illustration,[26] in figurative form, of the completely un-iconic, hence abstract *U Blei — Ka Blei* concept of the Khasi.

5. Conclusions

The supreme deity in Khasi belief is differentiated, among various other things, from the lesser tutelary, — protecting or malignant spirits, by the alternative use of the masculine and feminine sex determination. This double sex of the Creator God is mainly being expressed by prefixing the word *Blei* (God) with the masculine and feminine determinate articles *U* and *Ka* respectively and, occasionally, also in addressing God (*Blei*) as Father or Mother respectively.

The Khasi language provides examples of changing the sex-determination of a word in the same way, thereby slightly changing its meaning. The application of this same method to the Khasi word for God indicates a particular attitude to the deity. It would, in view of this attitude, be equally wrong to describe the Khasi deity as a "Mother Goddess", a *Magna Mater*, or to deny the female aspect of the Khasi supreme deity.

In this the Khasi concept of the Great God-Goddess shows similarities with the divine couple in other parts of India, especially the *Siva-Shakti* complex.

By thus drawing attention to similarities between the concept of the supreme deity among different groups of the Indian area (-poles apart, among themselves, in almost all aspects of cultural history-) it is here not suggested that either the comparatively late appearance of Ardhanareshvara representations, as for instance in Elephanta sculpture, can be directly traced to the primaeval religious concepts among food-gatherers, such as the Kadar, or else to the Austro-Asiatic speaking and physically mongoloid Khasi, who immigrated probably as a fully specialized confederation of agricultural village communities into the Indian area.

Yet it may be considered possible that the wider concept of *Siva-Shakti*, as an ideological unit, is partly rooted in a religious

26. "Siva's consort....unlike the wives of other gods....is a very prominent figure in classical mythology....scarcely inferior to Siva himself. Her equality of rank with her husband is naively expressed in the dual form of their divinity, the Ardhanarishvara", says H. Jacobi (1909), p. 813.

idea[27] which, as we have seen, is characteristic of Khasi concepts and, in some way, also of the Kadar of Cochin, two otherwise quite disconnected groups in the richly interwoven culture — and population — pattern of this country.

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27. For the consideration of this possibility I am gratefully indebted to general principles, indicated by Bô Yin Râ (1935), pp. 110 *seq.*, 116 and 159 *seq.* and (1932), pp. 126/27.

FRUMENTIUS AND THOMAS CANA

BY

M. Arokiaswami

The tale of Frumentius in the early spread of Christianity in S. India is interesting and enlightening. The story is recorded in Rufinus' Ecclesiastical History[1] as one that he received from the mouth of Ædesius, the brother of Frumentius himself. The gist of the narration is that somewhere in the beginning of the IV century A.D., a Christian philosopher named Meropius, a native of Tyre goaded by the interesting account of the travels of Metrodorus, another philosopher, to India, started on a journey to that country to see things for himself with two youngsters related to him (nephews ?), Frumentius and Ædesius, that when he was about to turn the prow of his ship homeward, the natives killed him and took the boys to the king; that the king was sympathetic to the youths and allowed them to grow in his palace; that this gave the opportunity to Frumentius to play the role of the regent, when the old king died leaving a boy king to succeed him; that Frumentius took the opportunity to encourage the Christian converts of the land besides making new conversions; that he returned home with the idea of sending a Bishop and priests and finally returned himself as the Bishop, converted many, performed miracles and died a saint in this land of his adoption. The date of his second coming is fixed by the historian as 356 A.D.[2]

Socrates, who follows Rufinus in this account, clearly tells us that Frumentius went to "innermost India".[3] Many modern writers on this subject, however, tell us that this was Ethiopia, the argument being, besides the old one about the vagueness of geographical terminology in early times, that Athanasius, who is said to have clothed Frumentius with episcopal dignity, mentions a Frumentius as Bishop of Anxumis in Ethiopia.[4] While the first argument about the vagueness of geographical terminology need not worry us, since it may cut both ways, the second one based

1. Rufinus, Eccl. Hist., Lib. I, Chap. 9.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Socrates, Scholasticus, Lib. I, Chap. 19.
4. *Op. Cit., Loc. Cit.*, note (e).

on the evidence of Athanasius seems really to point to Ethiopia as the field of Frumentian labour. But Baronius, the martyrologist, speaks of two contemporary Bishops with the same name Frumentius, one of Ethiopia and another of India,[5] and Socrates refers to the field of our Frumentius as "innermost India", which seems to point to India rather than Ethiopia as the scene of his labour. Further India in early records is mentioned as "innermost India" by writers who want to make the nice distinction between India proper and the countries close on it. Cosmas in his Topographia makes the same distinction when he mentions Malabar as "Male in innermost India"[6] in the VI century A.D.

The question that really demands an answer is whether there is any evidence on the Indian side speaking to the stay of Frumentius within the confines of India. Our records do not make any pointed reference to such a personality; but the same is the case with the records of Ethiopian history. But numerous are the references in early Tamil works to Greeks and Romans in royal service. The easy success which the Armenian merchant, Thomas Cana, achieved in 345 A.D. in ingratiating himself with the reigning king of Malabar from whom he got numerous royal privileges to Christians, as are recorded in copper plates still preserved, seems to give an unmistakable clue to the fact that there must have been some great Christian influence weighing with the king at the time of his visit. This circumstance hitherto left unexplained in Indian History seems to get lighted by the story of Frumentius, who grew up in the royal court, first as a royal favourite and later as the regent of the king. The king dies, according to the account of Rufinus, leaving a boy to succeed him, which brings out Frumentius in the role of the regent. Now, the Travancore Manual records the death of the King Cheraman Perumal in 346 A.D.,[7] which is a year after the date, according to many historians, of Cana's arrival in Malabar. It was from him or his successor that he ought to have got valuable privileges for the Christians, and Frumentius must have played his role as the intermediary. The account of Rufinus seems to tell us almost the same story: "But in the constant and arduous occupation of Government he did not forget his obligation as a Christian ruler to his God and Saviour. Deeming it a paramount duty to employ the influence of his station for the

5. Baronius, Annotations on the Roman Martyrology.
6. Topographia, Vol. III.
7. Trav. State Manual, Vol. II, pp. 139-42,

honour of the Redeemer and for the encouragement and protection of his fellow Christians, he diligently enquired of the merchants who traded with that country."[8]

Unfortunately, however, the date of Thomas Cana has not been put beyond doubt. As late as 1939, Rev. D. Ferroli wrote as follows:[9]

> "There is some confusion about Thomas of Cana. It seems most probable that he came to India in 345 A.D., though the dates 774 and 822 are not to be absolutely excluded. We wonder whether further research may not throw more light on the point"

There are atleast three weighty considerations to place Cana in the IV century A.D.

(a) In the first place the king Cheraman Perumal from whom he is said to have got his privileges is stated to have died in 346 A.D. and the account given in the Travancore State Manual regarding this transaction only confirms our conclusion

(b) The kings who ruled over Malabar in the VIII and the IX centuries are mentioned in such different connections and with personalities so varied that it is impossible to find a place for Thomas Cana in that context and background.

(c) We know for a historical fact that in the year 343 A.D. a severe persecution of Christians was set afoot by King Shahpoor II in Persia and it lasted for nearly forty years. Both the fact and the date of the Cananite migration (for he came with 400 families) in 345 A.D. are best explained in the light of this event.

The very omission of his name in the contemporary records of the VIII and the IX centuries, while they mention a few others of inferior importance is an eloquent argument that he did not belong to those times. The great event of the IX century Malabar from the Christian standpoint was, according to accepted documents not the advent of Thomas Cana but a group of Assyrian merchants in Quilon and their leader is mentioned as Bar-Jesu, welcomed by Ayyan Adigal, the ruler of Venad (S. Travancore). Likewise is the history of the VIII century, during which the event of note for Christian Malabar was the grant to Iravi Korttan," Lord of the city Cranganore" by the king mentioned as Vira Raghava Chakravarti. Both Cana and his donor, King Cheraman

8. Rufinus in Hough's Trans., *Christianity in India*, pp. 62-63.
9. Ferroli, *Jesuits in Malabar*, p. 64.

Perumal, are out of place here; nay more, the grant referred to here seems indeed to confirm the privileges of Cana, perhaps fallen into disuse during the passage, of centuries and the very city of Cranganore, of which Iravi Korttan, a son of the soil, is called "Lord of the City", is believed by some as the creation of Thomas Cana himself.[10] At any rate, the century in which we hear of a native Christian as Lord of the city was not the century of Thomas Cana, who is said to have secured certain privileges to the Christian community of Malabar, that had not found its feet. The more we study the grant of Cheraman Perumal, the more we are impressed that Cana was more in the nature of a pioneer in action than of a harvester, who had come to reap the benefits of Christian mastery. One is even led to think that it was as much the needs of Malabar as the unbearable state of his home country that dictated Cana's migration into Malabar.

The apparently great difficulty in thus settling the date of Thomas Cana is the grant itself. The six copper plates in which the privileges were recorded were preserved by the Christians in Malabar down to the arrival of the Portuguese in the XVI century. When they arrived on the coast of Malabar, they were delivered by the Jacobite Bishop of Angamalle to the safe custody of the Portuguese Commissary at Cochin. They were since reported to have been "irretrievably lost", when according to Dr. Claudius Buchanan, they were brought to light again by the exertions of Col. Macaulay, the British Resident in Travancore, in the last century. Dr. Buchanan has the following remarks about these valuable documents:[11]

> "On the plate reputed to be the oldest, there is writing perspicuously engraved in *nail headed* or triangular-headed letters resembling the persepolitan or babylonish. On the same plate there is writing in another character, which is supposed to have no affinity with any existing character in Hindoostan"

The very script of these plates is an evidence of their antiquity and if an additional proof is necessary, it is found in the signatories to the document all the four of whom are Jews, which would indicate that the Christians at that time had not established themselves, at any rate their respectability. If, as the report of the Archaeological Department of Travancore would have us believe, the date of this record is the IX century,[12]

10. Richter, *Christian Missions*, pp. 30-31.
11. Buchanan, *Christian Researches*, pp. 142-43.
12. Trav. Arch. Report, 1920, II, Pp. 70-85.

we should naturally expect some one from the family of the "Lord of the city of Cranganore" at least among the signatories. The truth of the matter is that Col. Macaulay did not discover the original plates given to Thomas Cana, of which we have proof in the fact that Archbishop Menezes of Goa saw a set of these plates in 1599 at Tevalacara near Quilon, long after the Portuguese Commissary at Cochin had lost the original and long before Col. Macaulay's discovery in the XIX century. Further, another set of the same plates are mentioned by Schurhammer in or near Quilon in the possession of schismatics.[13] It was when both these sets had been lost, Col. Macaulay discovered a fourth set, of which two plates are now available in the old Syrian Christian Seminary at Kottayam. It may be obvious that under these circumstances, the evidence of these available plates, which are atleast third copies of the original, cannot be taken as evidence in any sense conclusive to prove the date of Thomas Cana.

Nevertheless, this has been creating a lot of confusion among historians as the date of a cardinal event in the history of Christianity in S. India, viz., the arrival of Thomas Cana on the shore of Malabar. It is hoped that this paper would serve to throw some light on this vexed question. The history of Frumentius, a figure comparatively unknown in the history of S. Indian Christianity, must be certainly revealing in this connection, especially since his date as Bishop is fixed round 356 A.D. with reference to unassailable data of European history.

13. Schurhammer, *Malabar and Rome*.

A STUDY OF THE ADOLESCENT PHANTASIES

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I

Only recently the importance and influence of phantasy on human adjustment and development has been fully realised. It is said that James[1] used to start his morning lecture with the question that why does a perfectly respectable man may dream that he has sexual relations with his grandmother. Modern trend, we can say, started with James. Only with the advent of Freud and his Psycho-Analysis has the importance of Phantasy been realised. After Freud, Adler formulated the concept of "guiding fictions" and Jung, though differing from Freud in other matters even deepened his emphasis by pointing to the possibilities of collective phantasies — the primordial images or "archetypes" — inherited through successive generations.

Phantasy is a way of child's adjustment—his way of getting immediate satisfaction in spite of adverse environmental conditions. However phantasy may provide anxieties also. Most phantasies are quite obviously promoted or influenced by wishes or fears.

An individual does many things in his phantasy which he does not do in normal life. The phantasies are impelled by desires and needs that are very similar to those that impel deliberate action. But they are devoid of external expression because of unpleasant consequences that would supposedly follow their objectification. However there are a few phantasies which are enjoyed because of pleasurable feelings, though abandoned as a feasible course of action and they are usually erotic, and the 'conquering hero' types. Phantasies result usually because of inhibited drives that find no overt expression and hence are never

1. From Saul Rozenzweig "Fantasy in Personality and its study by Test Procedures" — J. Ab. Soc. Psy. 1942, p. 37.

directly observed. Jung[2] points out "Psychologists' intellectual horizon is not properly extended until he recognises the significance of Phantasy process. For behaviour *qua* behaviour, is superficial and sometimes artificial—commonly explainable as the more imitations of social norms—whereas Phantasy is deep and close to the fund of creative energy. Almost any one can observe the proximate surface of things. It is for the scientists, as always, to search beyond, behind and beneath."

It is a known fact that Psycho-analytic method is a good technique to understand the underlying mechanism of the mind, but it is too expensive of time and labour for general utilisation. There have accordingly sprung up recently certain alternative methods which are much shorter though may be less reliable and less complete. L. K. Frank[3] calls these different methods as "Projective Methods," since they all depend upon the subject's objectification of his subjective processes. In the words of Frank "A Projective method for the study of personality involves the presentation of a stimulus situation not what the experimenter has arbitrarily decided it should mean (as in most psychological experiments using standardised stimuli in order to be objective) but rather whatever it must mean to the personality who gives it or imposes upon it, his private, idiosyncratic meaning and organisation." Sears[4] points out "Though the term *Projective Technique* includes such widely varying methods and mediums as Plastic materials, puppet shows, Rorschach Ink Blots, The World Test and Doll Play, there is a common assumption underlying the use of all, viz., that the individual by his interpretation or organisation of the materials reveals his own thoughts, motives, understandings and emotions."

Though some of the methods favour content aspects of Phantasy and others the formal aspects, they all include a measure of complement.

2. C. G. Jung, "The Psychology of the Unconscious". N.Y.: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1925.

3. "Projective Methods for the Study of Personality"—The Journal of Psychology, 1939, Vol. 8, pp. 389-413.

4. Pintler, M.A., Philips R, and Sears R.R.—Sex Differences in the Projective Doll Play of Pre-School Children—Journal of Psychology, 1946, Vol. 21, pp. 73-80.

II

Aim and Problems of the Present Research :

1. Since the Thematic Apperception Test, A Projective Technique, has been demonstrated to be useful in the investigation of the phantasies of personality, could a similar technique be equally effective in the study of Phantasies of Adolescence ?

2. If the Phantasies reveal various needs, which need or needs are prominent ?

3. In the manifestations of needs, are there differences in various age groups ?

4. How the individual needs are met by the environment and how the individuals react to the environmental influences ?

Procedure adopted in devising tests and collecting data :

The technique made use of in the present study is called Verbal Projective Test and in the abbreviated form V. P. T. The Test consists of 20 items describing persons in a conflict situation on which the subjects are asked to build stories. Each item refers to a situation. Helen Sargent[5] makes use of the term " armature " to refer to each situation, because only the bare frame work is presented without qualification or elaboration.

In the present study, following Helen Sargent, the term ' armature ' was made use of to refer to the different items.

Construction of Armatures :

The 20 situations were formulated using the following procedure. First Personality questionnaire, containing 100 questions, based on Woodworth's Psychoneurotic Inventory and Thurstone's Personality Schedule, was administered to 500 Adolescent boys, the ages ranging from 10 to 22. Later from the responses, 40 conflict situations were selected and administered to a group of 50 boys; from the result 19 situations were selected basing the selection on Murray's TAT Pictures and on the suggestions of

5. Helen Sargent borrowed the term " armature " from fields of art and architecture where it denotes an adjustable frame work on which the artist constructs his model. She gives the following reason for the preference of the term ' armature ' to the term ' skeleton '. The term ' skeleton refers to a definite rigid structure, and the term ' armature ' allows scope for the adaptation of *creator's* purpose.

Symonds,[6] Helen Sargent,[7] and Traveso and Anango.[8] The situations were selected with the following guiding principles.

1. Situations in which characters showed emotion will reveal deeper needs.

2. Introduction of more items will limit the theme.

3. At least one character in each situation should be about the same age as the subjects.

4. Items which are episodic or which represented incomplete situation, will give better results.

5. Items referring to family situations will produce good stories.

6. Situations referring to every day and natural occurrences will have better themes.

The situations were selected from five areas of importance. They are, family, sex, sociability, religion and health.

A place was provided in the Test for an original story which was expected to reveal how often and how accurately this V.P.T. adequately brought out the desired data.

The armatures were administered in Tamil and the English translation is given below.

1. While other boys are playing one boy is standing in a corner.

2. A boy is walking in a narrow street looking behind often.

3. A boy is lying on couch with his eyes closed. Sitting beside him is an elderly man.

4. Figures of two boys standing naked are seen in the darkness.

5. A winding road between two high hills; a dim figure is seen in the distance.

6. Criteria for the selection of Pictures for the Investigation of Adolescent Phantasies — The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1939, 34, pp. 221-224.

7. Some suggestions concerning the Administration and Interpretation of the T.A.T. Series — The Journal of Psychology, 1946, Vol. 22, pp. 117-163.

8. An Experimental Application of Projective Principles to a Paper and Pencil Personality Test — Psychological Monographs, Vol. 57, 1944, p. 58.

Armatures 3, 5, 11, 12 and 15 are adaptations of Henry Murray's Thematic Apperception Test Pictures — Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachussets, 2, 8, 11, 12, and 18. 3 is an adaptation of 12 M, 5 of 11, 11 of 8 B.M. 12 of 18 B.M. and 15 of 2.

6. A girl is walking along with books in her hands via a Boys' School.

7. Brother and sister are together. A grey-haired man is standing near a window with his back towards them.

8. Teacher is conducting the class; one boy is inattentive.

9. It is mid-night; a barking sound of a dog is heard in the distance.

10. A boy is standing in a crowded place and is staring at the people.

11. In the operation theatre a figure is found lying, instruments are there.

12. A boy is clutched from behind by some people who are not seen.

13. A boy is hesitatingly standing outside a temple.

14. Father and son are facing each other. Father is with stern face; Mother is by their side.

15. A boy with books in his hand is hesitatingly leaving the field where people are ploughing.

16. A boy is rolling on his bed without sleep.

17. Mother embracing her child, kisses it; Father is present. A boy is looking at them.

18. A boy, standing on a bank of a river, is looking at the still waters.

19. A corpse is being taken; a boy is looking at it.

20. A story with a boy as a hero.

The choice fell on this test because of its easy administration which facilitated the study of a fairly large sample of adolescents. The subject themselves were asked to record their stories, which is a point of departure from the usual procedure where the experimenter records the subjects' responses.

The test was administered to a group of ten boys at a time each writing his story, on the basis of the situation given.

Administration :

The procedure fell into two parts (a) Administration and (b) Inquiry.

(a) Administration: The 20 armatures were given in three sessions because it was found that if given in a continuous session the subjects of average productivity and imagination get tired and later stories become very flat without much theme.

The English translation of the instructions given is as follows:—

"I am going to give you a series of items referring to situations and I want you to make up a story around each one of them. I want you to tell me what the events were that led up to it, what the feelings and thoughts of the characters were and what will be the outcome. The time given is four minutes. You do not bother about the spelling or grammer mistakes or neatness about your handwriting. Just write as fast as you can. However essential plot only must be given avoiding elaborations."

The above instruction was repeated twice and also repeated on request in an abbreviated form to the subjects who did not follow it. What is happening? What led up to it? What will be the outcome? What are the feelings and thoughts of the characters at that moment?

The time given was four minutes for each armature. This total time of four minutes was after the presentation of the armatures and the completion of the stories. This did not include the time spent on routine inquiry.

(b) *Inquiry*: The basic principles of enquiry followed were: 1. To enquire into lack of clarity and 2. To obtain materials about family conditions.

1. To enquire into lack of clarity was felt as important in the sense very often the investigator was confronted with superficially irrelevant stories. The desires, fears and conflict undergone by the subject rarely appeared in a ready made form. Almost always some change was made which made the response from being merely incidents from his personal life. The changes mostly consisted of substituting one person for another and varying the scene. These changes were very often made unconsciously. Along with this, sources of stories whether from books, films and personal experiences were inquired.

2. With prepared questionnaire information regarding health condition, parent's occupation, total number of children in the family, siblings, and their ages and sex, place of birth, order of birth, etc. of the subjects, were collected. These were later verified with the school records.

Administration of Tests:

In the first session six armatures and in the subsequent two sessions seven armatures each time were administered to a group of ten subjects at a time. On the first session, each subject was

given an answer book in which, on the first page, he was asked to fill in the following details:

Name, Age, Sex, Class, School, and Date.

In each session, separate answer sheets were given and in each answer sheet, he has to write just his name and the age. Each session followed at the interval of one day.

The administration of the tests was done by the investigator himself to maintain the uniformity of instruction, influence of personal factor, etc. Conditions necessary for psychological examination, like good lighting, minimum noise, etc., were looked into. After establishing proper rapport with the subjects the armatures were administered one by one.

Ages of Subjects:

Two hundred and forty-two boys studying in various Corporation Schools in the City of Madras were used in this study. The distribution according to ages is as follows:—

TABLE 1

Age	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
Number	10	12	40	50	30	40	20	20	20
Percent	4·1	4·9	16·5	20·7	12·4	16·5	8·3	8·3	8·3

Parent's Occupation:

Parent's occupation is usually taken to give a rough indication of the social and economic condition of the individuals. The following table refers to the professions of father.

TABLE 2

	Father's Occupation No.	Per cent.
1. Higher Professions, (Doctors, Lawyers, Teachers)	13	5·5
2. Managerial	20	8·3
3. Clerical	22	9·0
4. Skilled Work (Jewellery, etc.)	55	22·6
5. Semi-skilled (Masons, etc.)	60	24·6
6. Unskilled (Manual Labourers)	60	24·6
7. Landlord	7	2·9
8. Unemployed	5	2·2

The above table shows that subjects of present study came from lower middle class and lower class families together totalling about 70 per cent.

Mother's Occupation:

It was also found that 8·2 per cent of the mothers of the subjects were engaged in gainful occupations like, vegetable vending,

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owning petty sweet-meat shops and working as servant maids in rich and middle class houses.

Analysis of the Stories :

Ruth Clark[9] scheme for analysing the stories which she made use of for interpreting Thematic Apperception Test Stories was felt as a good device for the study of the contents of the stories here. This scheme was felt to be effective in revealing basic needs and enduring attitude traits and at the same time facilitating approach to the study of dynamics of Personalities. Statistical treatment of the data also was made possible. The main headings and the sub-divisions are as follows :—

Main Divisions :

I. Needs.
II. Effect of Environment on the Individual.
III. Reaction of the Individual to the Environment.
IV. Adequacy of Principal Character.
V. Ending.

Each of the above divisions was split into sub-divisions :

I. *Needs* : [10] A. Achievement.
B. Affection.
C. Belongingness.
D. Recognition.
E. Sensory Gratification.

II. *Effect of Environment on the Individual* :

This was divided into three sections A, B, and C. Under A unfavourable and frustrating influence of the Environment and under B favourable effects of the Environment and under C neutral influence of the Environment were included. These different influences were roughly graded according to their intensity.

A. *Frustrating :*

1. Thwarts punishes and is harmful.
2. Dominates.
3. Unfriendliness.
4. Oppressive (religious, moral, and economic).
5. Undesirable and he rejects it.

9. Ruth Mullburn Clark : A Method of Administering and Evaluating the Thematic Apperception Test in Group Situations, Genetic Psychology Monographs, 1944, Vol. 30, pp. 3-58.

10. The term is made use of to refer to everything from the most incipient inclination towards assuming certain trend of activity to the most complete expression of such a tendency.

B. *Helpful :*

1. Recognizes and accepts.
2. Submissive.
3. Co-operative and understands the need for self-expression and development.
4. Pleasant and Desirable.
5. Loving.

C. *Neutral :*

1. Mysterious.
2. Monotonous.

III. *Reaction of the Individual to the Environment :* The third section contained the reactions of the individual to the Environment. The responses were brought under two heads A and B. Under A unfavourable and under B favourable reactions were included.

A. Neurotic symptoms showing frustrations and insufficiency :
   1. Aggressive, hostile, resentful, disgusted.
   2. Submissive, dependent, conforms, punishes self.
   3. Withdraws, escapes, insanity.
   4. Ambivalent, anxious, fearful, despondent, sorry.

B. Reactions of self-sufficiency, and emotional stability.
   1. No conflict.
   2. Compensates and Sublimates.
   3. Attains.

IV. The fourth section refered to the Adequacy level of the principal characters. This section also was divided into A and B. A referred to traits of mal-adjustment and B to traits of adjustment.

A. Not adequate — Maladjusted — Failure — Conflict :
   1. Discouragement and despair.
   2. Hate, revenge, crime, rebellion, violence, suicide.
   3. Anxiety, fear, insecurity, unhappiness, sorrow, failure.
   4. Hardship, deprivation, sacrifice, self-punishment, striving.

B. Adequate — Adjusted — Success — Harmony :
   1. Hope, Courage. Confidence ; faith ; interest, curiosity.
   2. Love, Conciliation, peace, trust, protection.
   3. Emotional and physical satisfaction, joy, success, contentment, security, fearlessness, happiness.
   4. Ease, attainment, reward, comfort, encouragement.

V. The fifth division referred to the ending of the stories. *A* section denoting ending which was unsatisfactory to the individual and the Society and B to ending which was satisfactory both to the individual and the Society.

In scoring a given story, if there were indications of more than one need, both the needs were scored. In all the categories except that of needs, a value of one was recorded in each section in the analysis.

The first thing done in order to analyse the stories obtained by the test was, to find out, in which character in each story did the narrator project himself. This character was generally, as Murray has shown, the person who plays the leading role in the drama. There were exceptional cases where the narrator identified himself with minor characters ; opposite sex and with different characters in the same story.

It was felt that inferences could never be more valid than the premises. H. A. Murray[11] has laid emphasis on this point by saying that the intensity with which a drive appeared in stories did not necessarily parallel its strength in real life. One could at the best say that a particular need existed. Here in this study this advisability of abstaining from over specification was felt when murder and physically impossible activities were mentioned. In some of the cases the stories like these were taken to indicate hate or desire to break connections with another person. Similarly stories referring to suicide in most cases were taken to indicate the fear of remaining perpetually lonely. In judging the presence and the intensity of need, important factors of general intelligence, special abilities, degree of inhibition, knowledge of situations were considered. Added to these in analysing the stories, formal aspects like the choice of language, style of writing, number of words made use of, were taken into consideration with the idea that they would facilitate location of needs and traits in a clear and specific way.

The following are a few examples of stories and their analysis and scoring.

ARMATURE 1. *While the boys are playing, one boy alone is standing in a corner :*

(a) He is standing in a corner because he got hurt in his leg. He is standing there to treat the wound. Because he played he got hurt. He will not go and play again.

(b) While playing this boy was 'out' and that is why he is standing in a corner. If another boy is 'out' he will also come

11. Explorations in Personality: New York Oxford University Press, 1938, pp. 243-289.

and stand like that. After that game he will be taken in with them (with other boys).

(c) He is hurt and that is why he is standing. He will be taken to the hospital and admitted in. He will be given treatment. Afterwards the doctor will give some medicine and ask them to take him home, wash the wounds with hot water and dress up both in the morning and evening. In spite of this, if the wound does not heal, he will be again taken to the doctor.

(d) He is a school boy. His class teacher has punished him so when the other boys are playing happily, he is standing in a corner thinking of that (Teacher's punishment). Added to this he is also weak. We must play regularly then only we will become strong.

(e) The one who is standing in the corner is a sick boy and therefore he is not playing. Those who are playing are happy and are without any disease. Because they are without disease they are playing.

(f) He has done some mischief and so the teacher has asked him to stand in the corner. He will get a small punishment. He is thinking of what exactly he should do.

ARMATURE 3. *A boy is lying on a couch with his eyes closed. Sitting beside him is an elderman leaning forward with one hand raised over his forehead.*

(a) His end is nearing. The old man is frightening him. That is Yama.[12] He has come in that form to take his life. Later when his parents came to wake him, found him dead.

(b) The boy is suffering from fever and he is sleeping. The old man is trying to see how he breathes. He has placed his hand on his face. It looks as though the boy is suffering from severe fever. The old man is there to feed him now and also to see that he is not frightened.

(c) While the boy is sleeping, because of fear and anxiety, he dreamt that God has presented himself to him in that form.

(d) The name of the boy is Gopalan. One day while he was returning, it became dark. He got frightened and so, got fever. Now he is sleeping closing his eyes. That man is his father. He

12. God of death.

is just seeing whether his son has died by placing his hand on his face. But Gopalan has not died. He was breathing slowly. Father was very happy. He immediately brought a doctor and gave him treatment.

ARMATURE 7 : *Brother and sister are playing. A grey-haired man is standing near a window with his back towards them.*

(a) Brother and sister are playing. The man who is standing there is their relative. He is standing there watching them playing. After sometime, he asked them to get in by telling them that they have spent sufficient time in playing. The children after cleaning their face, feet, etc., ate their food and slept.

(b) They were all playing together. The younger brother was defeated in the game and therefore the younger brother is sad and looking through the window outside. After some time he will join them and play. He will be happy then.

(c) Brother and sister are playing ; a young man with grey cap is looking at them with pleasure. The girl is his love. At the moment he is thinking that when will her brother leave her and go, so that he could meet her when she is alone. Fortunately for him their father is calling the boy from inside and the boy leaves her. The girl is in playful mood. The young man meets her, expresses his love and ultimately wins her.

(d) The brother and sister are always in the habit of playing and that is how they spend their time. One day while they were playing father had come. He punished them for not having gone to their school. Another day the brother and sister wanted to absent themselves from school and spend their time happily in playing in their room. For that they collected all playthings. Brother is standing and looking at the street to see whether their father has gone out to his office.

ARMATURE 18 : *Mother is embracing her child and kissing it ; father is seeing it. A boy is looking at it.*

(a) The boy has no affection for his mother ; no affection for father ; no affection for the child. When this boy was a child what amount of love they bestowed on him ; fondled him, kissed him ? Now another child is born to them. Now the mother loves that child ; father also does the same thing. This is common to all. Even my father and mother do that way.

(b) Father asked the boy to get water from the well. The boy hesitated to do this. Meanwhile another of his child got a

tumbler of water and gave it to father. Mother who was away to bazaar. When she returned, father narrated this to her. Mother became joyous, embraced the child and kissed it. The father was looking at them lovingly. The boy was disappointed.

(c) There lived a Chettiyar who had a boy aged two named Chandran. Without having lunch he was playing with other boys. When he became hungry he came to his mother. Mother embraced the child and kissed him, by saying affectionately, how he managed to play without his lunch. There a motherless boy was standing watching them. He felt that if he had his mother how happy and comfortable he would have been.

(d) The boy who is looking is the eldest boy. The other boy is younger to him. He is thinking how parents are fond of only younger children and why they do not care for him.

(e) That child must be beautiful and that is why the mother is embracing and kissing the child. Father also thinks how beautiful the child is and looks at it lovingly. The boy looking at it is angry and resents, feeling that he is not being cared for. He is there waiting to beat the child, as soon as parents leave the place.

Armature 1:

a.	I CDE	II A_1	III A_3	IV A_4	V A
b.	I CDE	II A_2	III A_2	IV B_1	V B
c.	I BCD	II B_1	III A_2	IV A_4	V B
d.	I E	II A_1	III A_4	IV A_4	V A
e.	I CDE	II B_4	III A_3	IV A_4	V A
f.	I CD	II A_2	III A_4	IV A_4	V A

Armature 3:

a.	I CD	II A_1	III A_4	IV A_4	V A
b.	I BDE	II B_3	III A_2	IV B_2	V B
c.	I DE	II CE	IIIB_2	IV A_3	V A
d.	I BCD	II A_1	III A_4	IV A_4	V B

Armature 7:

a.	I CDE	II B_1	III B_3	IV B_4	V B
b.	I CDE	II B_4	III A_4	IV A_1	V B
c.	I ADE	II A_2	III A_3	IV B_3	V A
d.	I BDE	II B_4	III B_3	IV B_4	V B

Armature 18:

a.	I BCD	II B_4	IIIB_2	IV A_1	V B
b.	I BCD	II A_2	III A_1	IV A_4	V A
c.	I BCDE	II B_4	III A_4	IV A_3	V A
d.	I BCD	II A_3	III A_1	IV A_2	V A
e.	I BD	II B_4	III A_1	IV A_2	V A

V. Ramadoss: Age. 14. Father's occupation: Farmer. Mother died at the age of 8. Total number of children in the family 4: Elder brother 1, elder sister 1, younger sister 1. 2nd Child. VIth Standard Corporation School. Hindu.

TABLE 3

No. of Armatures	I Needs ABCDE	II Effects of E on I	III Reaction of I to E	IV Adequacy of character	V Ending
1.	E	A_1	A_2	A_4	A
2.	E	A_1	A_4	A_3	A
3.	CD	B_3	B_1	B_2	B
4.	E	C_2	A_4	A_3	A
5.	A	A_1	B_1	B_1	B
6.	E	B_4	B_2	B_3	A
7.	CDE	B_2	B_1	B_1	B
8.	A	A_5	A_3	A_3	A
9.	E	A_1	A_1	B_1	B
10.	E	A_1	A_2	A_4	A
11.	D	B_1	B_1	B_2	B
12.	E	B_2	B_1	A_2	A
13.	CD	A_1	A_1	A_3	A
14.	E	C_2	A_2	A_4	A
15.	E	A_4	A_2	A_4	A
16.	BCD	B_4	A_4	A_3	A
17.	A	C_2	A_4	A_3	A
18.	E	B_4	A_4	A_4	A
19.	E	C_1	B_1	B_1	B
20.	E	A_1	A_4	A_3	A

The above illustrative table gives a picture of the individual as a whole, whether he is emotionally adjusted or mal-adjusted. The table clearly reveals what are the needs present; and which are the prominent needs. It also shows how the needs are met by the environment; which need or needs are facilitated and under what circumstances and which need or needs are frustrated and under what circumstances ? Along with this, facilitated needs and frustrated needs how do they affect the individual and make him react in a particular way and make him manifest particular traits, are also available.

TABULATION OF RESULTS

TABLE 4

I. Total Number of needs present in each Age Group.

Age Group	Average number of needs
10	32·0
11	37·5
12	30·7
13	38·6
14	32·0
15	34·9
16	41·0
17	43·0
18	38·0

Interpretation of the Table. The study of the above table will show that there is no definite relation between age and the number of needs present. At the age 12, total number of needs is lowest. There is a fluctuation in the number of needs present in different age groups and the range of fluctuation is 13.

The fluctuation in the number of needs in the different age groups studied shows the unstable nature of the adolescence and particularly the pre-adolescence, i.e., the period between ages ten and fourteen. Hollingworth's[13] statement that youth is a period which is hardly equalled for perplexity and uncertainty of status, save for accident, by any other developmental phase of life, appears to be true. Charlotte Buhler[14] points out the increased activities of the ductless glands and of the onset of sexual maturity which disrupt the balance of the organism completely, as the cause of the unbalance in the psychic equilibrium also. However truth is that " adolescence is a period of transition from childhood when the forces and tendencies previously harmonized break up again and reconstructed."[15] In this period the individual necessarily passes completely from one set of habits to another and from one set of values to another.

13. Leta Hollingworth: "The Adolescent Child"—A Handbook of Child Psychology, 1933.
14. Charlotte Buhler: "From Birth to Maturity", London Kegan Paul Trench Trubner & Co. Ltd., 1945.
15. See Stanley Hall, 'Adolescence', 1904, Vol. I.

The study of Table 5 shows that though there is fluctuation in the number of needs, certain needs are present predominantly in all the age groups.

TABLE 5

Age	Achievement %	Affection %	Belongingness %	Recognition %	Sensory Gratification %
10	25·6	14·4	13·1	13·1	33·1
11	11·6	14·4	21·8	17·1	34·7
12	9·2	10·5	15·7	18·7	45·9
13	14·3	7·6	22·3	24·5	31·3
14	12·6	8·1	17·1	21·8	40·3
15	12·8	11·3	21·8	24·4	28·8
16	9·1	11·3	25·9	30·2	22·9
17	10·4	11·8	26·8	29·8	18·4
18	20·1	12·3	18·0	16·5	28·9
Average Percent	14·9	12·8	19·3	19·4	32·4

Interpretation of the Table: 1. In all the age groups studied all the five needs are present in varying numbers. But the sensory gratification need occupies the first place, except in age group 16 and 17 where it occupies the third place. Following Maslow[16] it is viewed here that the needs arrange themselves in hierarchy and the appearance of one need usually rests on the prior satisfaction of another, more pre-potent need. Arranging the needs in five levels, at the first level comes the sensory gratification need, like hunger, sex and so on. The second level comprises of need of Recognition

16. Maslow pointing out that how in Europe during the Second World war, vast sections of the population were forced to direct their efforts to satisfying the basic needs of hunger and safety and the higher needs had to be temporarily foregone, comes out with aphorisms like "Man lives not by bread alone except when his stomach is empty"; "The search for love is not a main motivation except in rejected people"; "Sex is not a fundamental motivation except in rejected people". Those persons in whom a need has been satisfied are best equipped to deal with deprivations of that need in future. It is the individual who has grown up in a secure and happy environment not deprived of his basic needs, who is best able to stand such privations in later life. This principle was verified over and over again during the war; the emotionally secure individual was the one who was able to stand the greatest shock of war conditions.*

A. M. Maslow: "A Theory of Motivation"—Psychological Review, 1943, Vol. 50, pp. 370-396.

See P. M. Symonds: Dynamics of Human Adjustment, p. 43.

and the third level need of Belongingness. These two needs ensure safety and security for the individual. On the fouth level is affection, that is to be given love and warmth by another person. Finally there is the need for achievement or self-realisation of being able to accomplish—to paint a picture, to compose a poem, to secure a position, to achieve a position of leadership, etc. Gratification of needs on the first or more basic levels frees an individual for the higher social and psychological needs. For instance, if a person's needs of sensory gratification, belongingness, recognition, and affection are taken care of, he could turn his attention and devote his energies to the more distinctly ego needs and his efforts towards achievement on the higher levels. On the other hand, if those more basic needs are not fulfilled they claim priority and activities on the higher levels.

In an well organised society an individual will be able to cultivate his higher needs. However in the present study we find the basic needs present in large number about 85 per cent in all; in age groups 10—73·4 per cent, 11—88·5 per cent; 12—90·8 per cent; 13—85·7 per cent; 14—87·4 per cent; 15—87·2 per cent; 16—90·0 per cenet; 17—89·6 per cent; and in 18—79·9 per cent.

Applying Maslow's hierarchy principle as criterion of normality and mal-adjustment, we can say that a healthy individual is one whose basic needs have been met so that he is principally motivated by his needs to develop higher needs to actualise highest potentialities. The maladjusted, on the other hand, is one who is dominated by more basic needs, which do not release him towards higher aspirations. The phantasies of boys here reveal that they are dominated by more basic needs and as such they have tendencies towards mal-adjustment.

2. It is assumed that in the normal individuals the needs are present in hierarchy. However in the present group, except in age group 12, the hierarchy is not maintained. Sensory gratification need is in the first level in all the age groups except 16 and 17. Recognition need is present in its place only in age groups 12, 13, 14 and 15. In age groups 11 and 13, it is in the third place and age group 10 in the fourth place. Belongingness need is in the third level in age groups 12, 13, 14 and 15; in the second level in 11, 16, 7 and 18, and in the first level in 10. Affection need is in its place in age groups 11, 12, 16, and 17, in the third place in age group 10, fifth place in age groups 13, 14 and 15. Achievement need is in the fifth place in age groups 11, 12, 16 and 17; second place in 10 and 18, and fourth place in 13, 14 and 15. This alterations of levels of needs suggest again the unstable nature of the needs of the individuals studied.

TABLE 6

II. Influence of Environment on the Individual

No.	Age Group	A_1	A_2	A_3	A_4	A_5	%	B_1	B_2	B_3	B_4	B_5	%	C
1.	10	22·0	4·5	7·5	8·0	10·5	52·5	8·5	6·5	4·0	9·5	10·0	38·5	9·0
2.	11	19·2	6·7	5·9	4·5	7·9	44·2	4·2	0·8	4·5	8·2	8·7	26·4	28·3
3.	12	20·1	6·4	4·7	7·1	5·2	43·5	6·2	1·3	2·0	13·5	6·4	29·4	27·0
4.	13	19·2	7·4	4·7	7·4	4·5	43·2	4·1	4·3	3·5	19·9	5·9	37·7	19·1
5.	14	18·2	5·5	5·3	6·0	6·2	41·2	4·3	5·7	4·8	16·3	5·0	36·1	22·7
6.	15	17·5	6·4	6·2	5·4	6·7	42·2	7·6	6·8	5·0	13·1	6·6	39·1	18·5
7.	16	17·2	7·2	5·2	9·2	4·8	43·6	7·5	4·5	3·8	15·7	6·2	37·7	18·5
8.	17	15·8	7·1	6·0	7·2	5·5	41·6	5·2	4·7	6·5	19·8	6·0	42·2	16·0
9.	18	14·8	5·5	5·4	12·2	4·5	42·4	7·2	3·1	3·5	9·8	13·8	32·4	20·3
TOTAL :		164·0	56·7	50·9	67·0	55·8		54·8	37·7	37·6	125·8	68·6		179·4
Average Percent		18·2	6·3	5·6	7·4	6·2	43·8	6·8	4·1	4·1	13·9	7·5	35·5	19·9

Interpretation of the Table: The influence of Environment on the individual on the whole is on the unfavourable side. However, the neutral influences of Environment which are denoted as 'mysterious and monotonous' are quite prominent, being 19·8%. The influence of Environment on the favourable side is 36·4%. Frustrating influences are 43·7% and they are mainly thwarting, punishing, and harmful tendencies. From the boys coming from low economic status, it may be quite proper to expect the environment to be oppressive. However, the influence seems to be different. It may be that because of the deprivation of the fulfilment of basic needs, makes individual live in a insecure way and view the Environment with suspicion; as hostile, punishing and harmful.

Healthy environment is one that provides satisfaction of the needs on the lower levels, enabling individuals to turn their energies towards goals which will satisfy the needs on the higher levels. Applying this, if we study the influence of Environment on the individuals as revealed in their stories, we find it on the whole to be on the unfavourable side. The unfavourable effect being 43·8 per cent, favourable influence 35·5 per cent, and neutral influence 19·9 per cent. The unfavourable influences are mainly thwarting, punishing and harmful tendencies; favourable influences are mainly 'pleasant and desirable tendencies'. However there are slight changes in age groups 13, 15, 16, and 17 where there is a suggestion of better influence of environment, and in age groups 11 and 12, where neutral influences are relatively much with 28·3 per cent and 27 per cent respectively.

Frustration from the environment is to some extent recognized as an absolutely necessary stimulus for growth and development of the individual. No individual grows from infancy to childhood and childhood to adolescence and maturity except through the medium of mild frustration. Maier[17] believes that the values of frustration extend not only to learning but also to reform. His observations lead him to conclude that no great or effective social movement or reform is possible except when it rests upon previous frustration and even suffering. But frustration should not be very severe.

Judging from this point of view the results from the table will show that the frustrating influences are severe on the individuals

17. N. R. P. Maier: "The Role of Frustration in Social Movements"—Psychological Review, 1942, pp. 586-599.

as a whole, though facilitating influences[18] are also present to a marked degree. The frustration was mainly directed towards physiological needs like hunger, thirst, sleep, play and sex.

TABLE 7

III. Reaction of the I to E

No.	Age Group	A_1	A_2	A_3	A_4	%	B_1	B_2	B_3	%
1.	10	17·0	12·5	18·5	24·0	72·5	6·0	13·5	8·5	27·5
2.	11	12·1	14·6	10·8	24·7	59·2	24·7	9·5	6·6	40·8
3.	12	16·9	13·4	10·9	19·5	60·7	24·3	7·4	7·7	39·4
4.	13	12·3	14·5	14·7	22·3	63·8	22·1	7·0	7·2	36·3
5.	14	15·2	10·8	12·3	21·0	59·3	33·7	6·7	0·3	30·7
6.	15	15·3	9·7	7·2	22·5	54·7	36·0	8·0	0·5	44·5
7.	16	17·8	9·5	6·0	26·2	59·5	29·5	10·8	9·8	40·1
8.	17	17·2	8·5	4·2	20·0	49·9	29·5	10·8	9·8	50·1
9.	18	13·0	14·5	11·0	20·5	59·0	13·5	14·5	13·0	31·4
Total		136·8	108·0	95·6	200·7		219·3	88·2	63·4	
average percent		15·2	12·0	10·6	22·3		24·7	9·8	7·0	
Total percent						59·8				37·8

Interpretation of the Table: The frustrations from the environment are ordinarily met by the individuals in the following ways:

1. Facing the frustrating obstacle without conflict.
2. Accepting a substitute goal.
3. Getting round or surmounting the obstacle and attaining the desired goal.

In the present study, the individuals manifested more unfavourable reactions. They are: Ambivalence, anxiety, fear, despondency, sorrow together with 22·3 per cent. Along with these are present aggressive, hostile and resentful tendencies with 15·2 per cent. The responses of frustrations are highest in all the age groups, except in age 17, where it is 49·9 per cent, with responses

18. Analysis of the contents of the story showed that the intensity of the frustrating influences were greater than the facilitating influences. This is not available from the table cited above. A separate study to show the intensity of frustration and which needs are frustrated and which needs are facilitated is being conducted.

of Ambivalence, anxiety, fear, despondency and sorrow occupying the first place and aggressive, hostile and resentful tendencies coming next. Even in 17 age group the same is the case in a lesser degree.

With unfavourable influence of the Environment, the reactions in this direction are quite expected. The point of interest will be in what way the individuals react. Ambivalence, anxiety, fear, despondency and sorrow are present to a marked degree. Hostile and resentful tendencies are also present. The examination of the behaviour traits manifested in the stories reveal the following in order: Anxiety, fear, insecurity, unhappiness, sorrow and failure, hardship and deprivation. Tendencies towards hatred, revenge, violence and suicide are also present in a minor degree.

TABLE 8

IV. Adequacy of character

No.	Age Group	A_1	A_2	A_3	A_4	Total %	B_1	B_2	B_3	B_4	Total percent
1.	10	2·0	15·5	30·0	19·0	66·5	5·5	6·5	15·0	6·5	33·5
2.	11	1·2	6·6	24·3	27·3	59·4	17·6	9·7	10·0	3·7	40·6
3.	12	2·2	10·7	18·7	26·2	57·8	15·6	10·7	10·7	5·1	42·2
4.	13	1·7	11·4	26·2	19·7	59·0	15·6	9·1	11·0	5·3	41·0
5.	14	2·5	12·5	22·8	18·0	55·8	14·2	13·0	11·5	5·5	44·2
6.	15	2·7	11·2	22·8	18·5	55·2	13·5	15·5	9·6	6·0	44·8
7.	16	1·0	12·5	22·7	19·7	54·9	11·7	16·2	9·7	6·2	45·1
8.	17	3·0	12·7	17·0	21·7	54·4	14·0	13·2	13·3	5·0	45·6
9.	18	0·5	11·2	18·4	25·2	55·3	7·2	18·4	11·8	8·0	44·7
Total		16·8	104·3	202·9	195·3		114·9	112·3	102·6	51·3	
Average Percent		1·9	11·5	22·5	21·7	57·5	12·8	12·5	11·4	5·7	42·4

Interpretation of the Table: General tendency of the groups as a whole is towards mal-adjustment with 57·5 per cent, principal traits manifested, being Anxiety, Fear, Insecurity, Unhappiness, Sorrow, Failure, with (A_3) 22·5 per cent and Hardship, Deprivation, Sacrifice, and Self punishment (A_4) with 21·7 per cent. Along with these Hate, Revenge, Violence, and suicide (11·5 per cent) are also present. Principal favourable traits are hope, courage, confidence, faith, love, peace, trust, protection, which together is 42·4 per cent. Age groups 10, 11 and 13 show predominant mal-adjustment tendencies.

TABLE 9

V. Ending

No.	Age Group	A	B
1	10	68·5	31·5
2	11	43·8	56·3
3	12	47·1	52·9
4	13	53·3	46·7
5	14	53·2	46·8
6	15	52·5	47·5
7	16	45·7	54·3
8	17	43·8	56·2
9	18	37·8	62·2
Total		445·7	454·4
Average percent		49·5	50·5

Interpretation: Ending is nearly balanced with 49·5 per cent towards mal-adjustment side, i.e., results favourable neither to the individual nor to the society and 50·5 per cent towards adjustment. Boys of age group 10 show predominant unfavourable ending with 68·5 per cent and next in order come age groups 13, 14, and 15 with 53·3 per cent, 53·2 per cent, and 52·5 per cent. Favourable ending is shown by boys of age groups 18, 11, 17, and 12, with 62·2 per cent, 56·3 per cent, 56·2 per cent and 54·3 per cent respectively. On the whole the ending suggests how in spite of emotional upheaval the individuals have tendency to remain stable, allowing swings in either direction; towards adjustment and mal-adjustment. Further investigation may throw light on the problem that under what situations outcome is bad and under what circumstances outcome is favourable and good.

SUMMARY OF THE RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS

III

The investigation was started with the assumption that phantasies will reveal the various needs and the V.P.T., a Projective Technique, will be a proper method for studying them. Two hundred and forty-two boys of age groups between 10 and 18 belonging mostly to lower-middle and lower socio-economic classes were studied. The V. P. T. contained 20 armatures referring to twenty different situations the adolescents find themselves in con-

flict. They were administered in three sessions, to groups of ten boys and 4840 stories were collected and interpreted with the help of the scheme suggested by Ruth M. Clark. The suggestions of H. A. Murray, S. Tomkins, H. Sargent and Piorowski were also availed of. The following are the summary of the results :

1. The average needs present in all the stories in different age groups were 32. There was fluctuation in the number of needs present in different age groups with the range of 13. There appeared to be no relation between age and the number of needs expressed. The fluctuation was intense between ages 10 and 14. This was felt to be due to the change the individuals undergo when the transition takes place from childhood to adolescence, when there is a change from one set of habits to another set of habits, and from one set of values to another set of values.

2. The sensory gratification needs were prominent occupying first place with 32·4 per cent. Next in order came Recognition need with 19·4 per cent, Belongingness need with 19·3 per cent, Achievement need with 14·9 per cent and Affection need with 12·8 per cent. There was a reversal in the order of hierarchy ; Achievement need occupying the place of Affection need. This was felt to be due to the relative fulfilment of that need compared to other prepotent needs. On the whole the basic needs totalling 83·9 per cent were revealed. Applying Maslow's criterion of adjustment this was taken to indicate emotional unstability of the boys studied.

3. In the manifestation of needs there were differences in age groups. There were also transpositions in the levels of needs. These were taken to indicate, again the emotional unstability of the subjects studied.

4. The influence of Environment on the individuals as a whole was frustrating. The chief influences being harm, punishment and thwarting. Neutral influences were also prominent. Among favourable influences, 'Pleasant and desirable' were prominent.

5. Reactions of the individuals suggested mal-adjustment. The responses of frustrations were fairly high in all age groups with the average of 59·6 per cent. Important reactions were ambivalence, anxiety, fear, despondency, and sorrow. Aggressive and hostile tendencies were also present.

6. Examination of the traits of principal characters of the stories revealed the following tendencies: Anxiety, fear, insecurity, unhappiness, sorrow and failure ; hardship, deprivation, sacrifice,

and self-punishment. These traits denote the neurotic and psychotic tendencies present in the subjects studied.

7. Outcome on the whole was balanced suggesting that in spite of emotional up-heaval the individuals have tendency to remain stable, allowing themselves swing in either direction.

Conclusion

At the end of the investigation it was felt that the investigation might suffer from the following limitations :

1. The Test made use of might not have been so effective in bringing out the deeply buried needs.

2. Armatures on the whole might have been too structured and the verbal presentation of them focussed more attention on one character than on the other characters, and

3. In evaluating the intensity of the needs, point scale was not made use of.

These limitations are meant to be overcome by: 1. Comparing the stories from V. P. T. with stories with T. A. T., and 2 Making a comparative study of adolescent boys of high socio-economic group with the present group.

Crime and insanity are two great social problems confronting modern civilisation and in the final analysis they are problems of adolescence. If this is understood, the results of the present investigation which reveal the dynamic structure of the adolescents will have many practical advantages.

REVIEW

Der Urmensch und Sein Weltbild—By W. Koppers, Vienna. (Herold), 1949, pp. 272.

"Primaeval man and his world picture" is the meaning of the title of this book which deals with the question in nine chapters and one final deliberation of wide variety and complexity. The author approaches the problem in the spirit of, and with frequent references to, his great colleague, Professor W. Schmidt.

Chapter Seven holds a central place in the book illustrating the religious concepts of Early Man with examples, taken from the author's own field-researches among the Bhil of Central India (pp. 120-153) and the Yamana in the Terra Di Fuega country, the southernmost tip of South America (pp. 185-230). The systematic interpretation of so diverse and yet, on principle, related forms of religion offers material which is the more interesting, as Professor Koppers' comprehensive monograph on The Bhil of Central India (Berger, (Horn-Wien), 1948) yields the colourful background to the deductions and conclusions, which are presented in the book under present review. Being one who has had the opportunity of seeing Professor Koppers during his work among the Bhil as his guest in 1939, the reviewer cannot but regret that the treasures, so conscientiously collected in the field, and systematically interpreted here, are accessible to those comparatively few only, who are interested in Indian anthropology, and, at the same time, able to read German.

Apart from the main theme of the book: namely high forms of the primaeval religion, and the erroneousness of earlier anthropological theory which interpreted everything primitive as necessarily "crude", "rude", "savage", "barbarian", "illogical" or "inhuman", the book deals also with questions of physical anthropology. Here prominence is given to Professor A. Portmann of Basle (Switzerland) and his historic interpretation of palaeo-anthropological form variations (pp. 77-89). An important conclusion at which the author arrives is his claim that sc far discovered skeletal remains of early man, including Neandertaloid and other early palaeolithic men are not representative of the truly original nor less of the assumed first human form on this planet. One of the author's arguments is that most early human relics come from margin areas, rather, such as Western Europe,

South Africa, Northern China, Java and Australia, than from Central or Inner Asia, where anthropological theory has most reason to locate the probable birthplace of mankind.

Professor Koppers, however, writes in this book not only as an anthropologist and scientist as which he worked in three continents, but also as a theologian, especially where he defines the Roman Catholic point of view, as for instance on the pp. 184/85. We also find many valuable side issues and marginal observations in this book, which are of special interest to the Indian anthropologist, the Indian student of religions and the Indian historian generally, such as the remarks on the redemption concept in Buddhism (p. 173). The influence of Christianity on modern trends in Hinduism (pp. 180, 184), where the omission of similar influences on the part, played by Islam, may however be felt as a shortcoming, or the esoteric character of the Upanishads (p. 182), are other examples of the same kind.

The book ends with the expression of gratitude to Providence, who gave the opportunity to witness, and to study, the high values and truly noble religious features in "primitive society" to the author. Here the man Wilhelm Koppers — apart from the scientist and the theologian with their special faculties — reveals the full accord of a truly elevating "song of the soul"; such as we painfully miss among the earlier laymen and even anthropologists who thought that they would place themselves on a higher pedestal, if looking down with as much pity and contempt, as possible, on those "unfortunate savages", as which aborigines have been, and sometimes are still being, described.

U. R. EHRENFELS.

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